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THE
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That your GRACE's labours for the welfare of the Church of God may long be blessed with abundant fruits of righteousness and peace, is the earnest prayer of

My LORD,

your GRACE's

most devoted,

faithful and humble Servant,

CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH.

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PREFACE.

THE first wishes for the existence of a collection, similar in design to that which now appears, were excited in my mind not less than ten years ago, and often recurred to it, during a long-continued residence in the University of Cambridge; though I do not remember to have entertained, in those times, any very confident expectations, that the work would ever be undertaken by myself.

But when, after the expiration of something more than half the above-named period of years, I had been called to Lambeth, to the service of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, by tract of time, the probable advantages of such a collection appeared continually to my mind, rather to increase, than to be diminished; and when some efforts which I had made to bring about the execution of this design, from another quarter, on a contracted scale, had yet produced no effect, I determined to turn my own hands to the work:—and it now becomes my duty to state the views and motives upon which it was begun, and the way and manner in which it has been performed. The mention, in the outset, of the places where the

wish for the existence of this work was first conceived, and where it has been prepared for publication, I judge not to be impertinent, because these circumstances may probably have had a considerable influence on its contents and character; and therefore the knowledge of them may lead the reader, by a natural and easy progress, to a further explanation of the principles on which it has been compiled.

A protracted residence in either of our Universities, and afterwards in that service which I have mentioned, it will easily be understood, was likely to engage any man in ardent wishes and desires for the general prosperity and welfare of sincere piety and true religion: and to inspire him more particularly with an earnest concern that those most important interests should ever advance and flourish among our Theological Students and the Clergy; and through their means and labours, with the divine blessing, in every rank of society.

It appeared then, to the present writer, that there were extant, among the literary productions of our country, many scattered narratives of the lives of men eminent for piety, sufferings, learning, and such other virtues, or such vices, as render their possessors interesting and profitable subjects for history, many of which were very difficult to be procured, and some of them little known; and that, therefore, the benefit which might have been expected to result from their influence, was in a great

great degree lost. These I thought it might be a labour well-bestowed to restore to a capacity of more extensive usefulness, and to republish them in one collection; not merely to afford to many readers an opportunity of what they could not otherwise enjoy; but also from the hopes, that the serviceable effect of each might be increased by their union and juxta-position; and, that through the help of a chronological arrangement, a species of Ecclesiastical History might result, which though undoubtedly very imperfect, might yet answer, even in that view, several valuable purposes; while it would possess some peculiar charms and recommendations.

A scheme of this nature, it is easy to conceive, could not well be undertaken without many limitations. Besides those obvious ones of restricting the history to that of our own country, and to the lives of our fellow countrymen, there appeared to me many reasons, why the work should begin with the preparations towards a Reformation by the labours of Wickliffe and his followers, and not a few why it might well stop at the Revolution. Within those limits are comprehended, if we except the first establishment of Christianity amongst us, the rise, progress, and issue of the principal agitations and revolutions of the public mind of this country in regard to matters of Religion:—namely, the Reformation from Popery, and the glories and horrors attending that hard-fought struggle; the subse-

subsequent exorbitances and outrages of the Anti-popish spirit, as exemplified by the Puritans; the victory of that spirit, in ill-suited alliance with the principles of civil liberty, over loyalty and the Established Church, in the times of Charles the First; the wretched systems and practices of the Sectaries, during the Commonwealth, and the contests for establishment between the Presbyterians and Independents at the same period; the hasty return of the nation, weary and sick of the long reign of confusion, to the antient constitution of things, at the Restoration; the operation of those confusions, and of the ill-disciplined triumph of the adverse party upon the state of morals and religion, during the early part of the reign of the Second Charles; the endeavours of Charles and his brother to restore Popery, and introduce despotism; the noble exertions of the Clergy of the Church of England, at that interval, in behalf of natural and revealed Religion, and Protestantism, and civil liberty; the Revolution of 1688, together with the ascertainment of the distinct nature and rights of an eſtablished Church, and a religious toleration; and the principles of the Non-jurors.

A narrative of these grand particulars, together with many others of inferior moment, obtained in connexion with a description of the virtues, private life, and character of the agents principally concerned in them would, I thought, be considerably interesting and useful, and especially in regard to those

those objects which I have above referred to, without descending to later times, less productive in some respects than the preceding, and more so indeed in others, but on both accounts the less fitted to constitute any part of this design. At the Revolution, a degree of stability was given both to our ecclesiastical and civil establishments, which they never before possessed; and hence a great part of the age which followed was less fertile, at least in historical interest: and from that æra, the growing abundance and extent of Biographical Memoirs, were felt, of themselves, as a discouragement against attempting the admission of any portion of them into a collection like the present.

It was no part of my original plan to go in quest of any thing new, but merely to revive the old. Yet, when his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury generously gave me permission to avail myself of the stores contained in the Manuscripts in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, I could not forbear, in justice to that liberality, to exert such a further portion of industry, as might seem best calculated to increase the value and usefulness of my publication. For this reason, and from this source, the Reader will find here a copious Life of Sir Thomas More, never before published; a new edition of Cavendish's Life of Cardinal Wolsey, so much surpassing in value those which have preceded it, as almost to deserve the name of a new work; and some large and interesting additions to the Memoirs

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of the Nicholas Ferrars; besides many occasional extracts inserted in the notes: for all which I desire in this place to return humble thanks to my most honoured Patron.

That which occasioned me the greatest labour and difficulty, with regard to the remainder of my materials, was the laying in the first stores, and afterwards making a selection out of them. The contents of these volumes are but a very small part of what I have gathered together, not without a considerable expence of time and pains. From the same heap, another man perhaps would have made now and then a different choice. But the principles upon which I proceeded will, I trust, be made sufficiently apparent to my readers in the course of this preface: further I have nothing to say, but that, proceeding upon those which I judge the best principles, I made the selection the best I could.

It will be found, (for which, I imagine, no apology is necessary), that I have preferred the ancient and original authorities, where they could be procured, before modern compilations and abridgments; the narratives, for instance, of Fox and Carleton, before the more artificial compositions of Gilpin.

Neither do I think that it will require any excuse with the judicious reader, that in the early parts of the series, I have been at some pains to retain the ancient orthography. It was one advantage which I contemplated in projecting this compilation, that

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it would afford, by the way, some view of the progress of the English language, and of English composition. This benefit would have been greatly impaired by taking away the old spelling. But I have always thought that the far more solemn interests of reality and truth are also, in a degree, violated by that practice.

The reader is desired further to observe, that in many cases the Lives are republished from the originals, entire, and without alteration; but in others, the method pursued has been different. Wherever the work before me seemed to possess a distinct character as such, either for the beauty of its composition, the conveniency of its size, its scarcity, or any other sufficient cause, I was desirous that my reader should have the satisfaction of possessing it compleat: but where these reasons did not exist, I have not scrupled occasionally to proceed otherwise: only, in regard to alterations, it is to be understood, that all which I have taken the liberty of making are confined solely to *omissions*. Thus, the Lives written by Isaac Walton, are given entire; and I have inserted all that he published: but the accounts of Ferrar and Tillotson have been shortened.

Many of the Lives which are given from Fox's *Acts and Monuments* (*a*), and which the Editor looks upon as among the most valuable parts of his

(*a*) The edition followed is that of the year 1610.

volumes,

volumes, are brought together and compiled from distant and disjointed parts of that very extensive work; a circumstance of which it is necessary that any one should be informed, who may wish to compare these narratives with the originals. It will be found also, that in many places much has been omitted; and that a liberty has not unfrequently been taken of leaving out clauses of particular sentences, and single coarse and gross terms and expressions, especially such as occurred against Papists. But, though he has not all Fox laid before him, yet the reader may be assured that all which he has is Fox.

In the Notes which I have added, my aim has been occasionally to correct my Author; but much more frequently to enforce his positions, and illustrate him, and that especially in matters relating to doctrines, opinions, manners, language, and characters. Their number might easily have been increased, but I was unwilling to distract the Reader's eye from the object before him, except where I thought some salutary purpose might be answered. Where the notes are inserted between brackets ([]), it is to be understood, that they are not the Editor's, but are derived from the same source as the text.

Upon the whole then, my desire has been to bring forward in the way, and by the means which I have stated, a work which might deserve some humble station in the same rank with those productions

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tions which have been found to benefit the high and holy cause of pure taste, and virtue, and piety. It is presumed, that this object may in some degree have been obtained, by the examples which will be found here recorded, and the manner in which the several narratives are told, of patient enduring of affliction for conscience' sake; of suffering even to bonds and imprisonment, and death itself, in the cause of the everlasting Gospel; of stedfast labour and perseverance in the various duties and good works of many several callings and stations in society: of the successive stages, and the vicissitudes of the progress of the Christian life, from its first beginnings in the grace and mercy of God, to its earthly consummation in a peaceful happy death:—and, on the other hand, by the contrast, which will be found occasionally manifested and displayed, in the goings on and the fate of error and vice, and earthly-mindedness. From the multitude of secular concerns which press upon us on every side, we have all continual need to be called to the contemplation of the things of the future world, and to be reminded that this life is chiefly important because of its connexion with the other. My hope is, that the histories of life and death, here delivered into the hand of my reader, may bring some aid to the side of those salutary impressions.

If it be likewise thought that the Editor has been influenced by a further aim and desire to promote the interests of religion and piety, especially as they

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are professed within the pale of the Church of England, the surmise, he confesses, is well-grounded; and it will greatly add to whatever satisfaction he looks for from his labour, if he shall find that it has indeed operated to that effect: for he is persuaded that whatever is done in that cause, is done and gained in the way which is most likely to secure and serve "the edifying of the body of Christ in love." And yet, if he could any where have found Popery associated with greater piety and heavenly-mindedness than in Sir Thomas More, or Nonconformity united with more Christian graces than in Philip Henry, those examples also should have obtained their station in this work, for the honour of God, for doctrine, for reproof, for instruction in righteousness.

It has then been no part of my design to give occasion of offence to any.

If indeed occasion be taken, where none was intended to be given; if the errors and the evil practices of Popery, the truths of Protestantism, the sufferings of Martyrs and Confessors, and the intolerance and cruelty of persecutors; if the madness of fanatics, and the evils of civil and religious war, cannot be described and deplored without blame; if the wisdom to be derived to present and future ages from the records of the past cannot be obtained by ourselves, without exciting displeasure in other bosoms; there may be circumstances which shall call forth our concern and sorrow for the pain

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of a suffering fellow-creature; but the consequences must be endured, as no part of our design, but only accidental to it; and the complainant may bear to be admonished, whether, instead of casting harsh imputations upon us, he would not be better employed in re-examining the grounds and principles of his own faith, and enquiring whether cause hath not been afforded to him of rendering thanks and praise to the mercy of God, for giving him yet another call and summons to escape from error, and forsake his sin.

But the Editor can make no apology for the large space which is occupied in his history by the Popish controversy, either in regard to the views of Politicians, or of Romish controversialists.

I am well aware that by the extent to which I have availed myself of Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, I fall within the sphere of such censures as that of Dr. John Milner, in which he speaks of "the frequent publications of John Fox's lying Book of Martyrs, with prints of men, women, and children expiring in flames; the nonsense, inconsistency, and falshoods of which (he says) he had in part exposed in his Letters to a Prebendary." I am not ignorant of what has been said also by Dr. J. Milner's predecessors in the same argument, by Harpsfield, Parsons, and others. But these writings have not proved, and it never will be proved, that John Fox is not one of the most faithful and authentic of all historians. We know too much of the strength of

book, and of the weakness of those of his adversaries, to be further moved by Dr. John Milner's censures, than to charge them with falshood. All the many researches and discoveries of later times, in regard to historical documents, have only contributed to place the general fidelity and truth of Fox's melancholy narrative on a rock which cannot be shaken.

After all, the object nearest to the Editor's heart in compiling this collection, has been, as he has already intimated, to consult the benefit of the Theological Students in our Universities, and the younger Clergy.

POST-

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POSTSCRIPT.

I HAVE yet occasion to request the Reader's attention, shortly, to another very different subject.

In the year 1802, I published "Six Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq. respecting his Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article, in the Greek Text of the New Testament." 8vo. Rivingtons. Much has been said and written for and against that publication. It would be wrong, therefore, if I were to suffer the present opportunity to pass by, without adverting to those notices; at least, without stating whether any alteration of judgment has been produced in my mind, respecting the argument attempted in the "Six Letters," by the many censures and animadversions under which those "Letters" have fallen. I am by no means certain, that a cause of very solemn importance may not, in a degree, have suffered, by an aversion to controversy, and an opinion of the little account due to my adversaries, which have kept me so long silent.

But had it been true, that the "Six Letters" had obtained a much smaller share of the public notice, either for praise or blame, than indeed they have, it could not but be fit, that I should state occasionally, what may be the present bearings and estimate of my own mind, respecting the value

deficiencies, errors, misrepresentations, and inconsistencies. I think indeed, that they are, all of them, both very great and very numerous. But you have hinted to us, that you write not for incompetent readers. "I am not writing," you say, "for school-boys." If *babes* and boys do not read your book, I shall be well contented to leave you to the judgment and censure of others. If *men* are to be your readers, I can have little concern or solicitude about them.

After these observations, it can hardly be necessary, otherwise than for the sake of *method*, that I should subjoin the *conclusion* to which they were intended to lead; namely, that, unless I should be called to reconsider, defend, or retract what I have written in my "Six Letters" by some more respectable antagonist, it is not my purpose to take any further notice of your pamphlet.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient and humble servant,

The Author of Six Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq.

In the year 1805, the subject was further prosecuted from the press, by "A Vindication of certain passages in the common English Version of the New Testament, addressed to Granville Sharp, Esq. by the Rev. Calvin Winstanley, A. M." 12mo. Longman. Among many important mistakes, and misinterpretations of writers referred to, from which it might be easily shewn, (as it has been very sufficently in one of our Monthly Journals, the British Critic,

Critic, for May, 1808,) that the value attributed by Mr. Winstanley to his labours originated principally in his own mistakes and misinterpretations, it may yet be conceded, that Mr. Winstanley has effected more than any other writer that has yet appeared against Mr. Sharp's theory; not that I apprehend he has, in the slightest degree, affected its truth or stability; but, in one or two particulars, his observations may perhaps tend a little to help his readers to a clearer understanding, and a more distinct enunciation of it.—With regard to the "Six Letters," Mr. Winstanley condemns them as of little value. But then, many will think that he supplies us with a criterion whereby we must be led to reckon not very highly of the value of this particular censure, nor very favourably of his general judgment, when he tells us, that the book which he condemns he had never seen. After all, Mr. Winstanley's tract will not have been without its good effects. It has, doubtless, extended the knowledge of the matter in dispute; and it will have tended, I trust, to fix his own mind more closely to his object; and to impress him with higher notions of its importance and difficulty. Let him permit me then to invite him, with sentiments of unfeigned respect, and as a sincere fellow-labourer in the search of truth, which I doubt not but that he really is, to renew his efforts, to persevere in his undertaking, and to continue to communicate, either publickly or privately, the result of his researches.

In regard to such things as have been said or written, and not printed, against the "Six Letters," and the argument contained in them, it may be not unfit to be mentioned, that, where the knowledge of their existence has reached me, I have not been backward, (as the persons concerned could, if they

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JOHN WICKLIFFE.

AS for JOHN WICKLIFFE, JOHN HUSS, VALDO, and the rest, for ought I know, and I believe setting malice aside, for ought you know, they were godly men. Their greatest heresie was this, that they complained of the dissolute and vicious Lives of the Clergy, of worshipping Images, of fained Miracles, of the tyrannical Pride of the Pope, of Monks, Friers, Pardons, Pilgrimages, and Purgatory, and other like deceiving and mocking of the People; and that they wished a Reformation of the Church.

BISHOP JEWEL.

JOHN WICKLIFFE[1].

AFTER al these heretofore recited[2], by whom (as ye have heard) it pleased the Lord something to worke against the bishop of Rome, and to weaken the pernicious superstition of the friers; it now remaineth consequently, following the course of yeares, orderly to enter into the storie and tractation of John Wickliffe our countriman, and other more of his time, and same countrie, whom the Lord (with the like zeale and power of spirit) raised up here in England, to detect more fully and amplie the poison of the Pope's doctrine, and false religion set up by the friers. In whose opinions and assertions, albeit some blemishes perhaps may be noted; yet such blemishes they be which rather declare him to be a man that might erre, than which directly did fight against Christ our Saviour, as the Pope's proceedings and the friers did. And what doctor or learned man hath been from the prime age of the church, so perfect, so absolutely sure, in whom no opinion hath sometime swerved awrie?

[1] *John Wickliffe.*] On the history of Wickcliffe and his opinions, the reader may consult Harpsfield's *Historia Hæresis Wicleviance*, fol. 1622. James's *Apologie for John Wickliffe, shewing his conformitie with the now Church of England*, 4to. 1608. Tanner's *Bibliotheca*, p. 767—772. Wharton's Appendix to *Cave's Historia Literaria*, Vol. II. p. 60—65. Lewis's *History of the Life and Sufferings of John Wicliffe*, 8vo. 1720. And the *Life of Reynold Pecock, Bishop of St. Asaph*, 8vo. 1744, by the same author.

[2] *Heretofore recited.*] Robert Grosthed, Bishop of Lincoln; Richard Fitz-ralph, Archbishop of Armagh; Nicolas Orem; the Author of the Prayer and Complaint of the Plowman and others.

And yet be the said articles of his, neither in number so many, nor yet so grosse in themselves and so cardinall, as those cardinall enemies of Christ perchance do give them out to be; if his books, which they abolished[3], were remaining to be conferred with those blemishes, which they have wrested to the worst, as evil will never said the best.

This is certaine and cannot be denied, but that he being the publike reader of divinitie[4] in the Universitie of Oxford, was for the rude time wherein he lived, famously reputed for a great clerke, a deepe schooleman, and no lesse expert in all kind of philosophie. The which doth not only appeare

[3] *His books, which they abolished.*] Bishop Burnet having, in his History of the Reformation, made a reflection similar to this of Fox, he is animadverted upon by the severe pen of Henry Wharton, in the following terms:

"It seems the historian knew not any certain means of gaining information of Wickliffe's true opinions; but when he would include all others in the same ignorance of them, we must desire to be excused. We have as many of the works of Wickliffe yet extant, as, if printed together, would make four or five volumes in folio. And whether so many books be not sufficient to teach us his opinions, let the reader judge." *Specimen of Errors and Defects in the History of the Reformation*, by Anth. Harmer. P. 16.

Nor is there indeed *now* much occasion that we should have recourse even to *manuscripts*, to enable us to distinguish the real from the imputed doctrines of Wickliffe. The following works have been printed: *Dialogorum*, lib. 4. Wickliffe's *Wicket*, 1546, &c. Prologue to the Bible, under the title, *Pathway to perfect Knowledge* (if this be indeed Wickliffe's), 1550. *Aphorismi Wicleviani*, 1554. *Complaint to the King and Parliament, with a Treatise against the Friars*, 1608. *Translation of the New Testament*, 1731, fol. These, with the addition of the books mentioned in note (1), and the third vol. of *Wilkins's Concilia*, leave no longer room to complain of any deficiency of materials for information, respecting the sentiments which he entertained in the principal heads of religion.

[4] *Reader of divinitie.*] Wickliffe was born, probably, about the year 1324; and he began to deliver Theological Lectures in 1372, in the reign of Edward III. Lewis's History. P. 1 and 18.

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by his owne most famous and learned writings and monuments, but also by the confession of Walden, his most cruell and bitter enemie; who, in a certaine epistle written unto pope Martin the Fift, saith that he was wonderfully astonished at his most strong arguments, with the places of authoritie which he had gathered, and with the vehemencie and force of his reasons.

It appeareth by such as have observed the order and course of times, that this Wickliffe flourished about the yeare of our Lord 1371, Edward the Third raigning in England: for thus we do find in the chronicles of Caxton: In the yeare of our Lord 1371, (saith he) Edward the Third, king of England, in his parliament, was against the pope's clergie. He willingly harkened and gave eare to the voices and tales of heretikes, with certaine of his counsell, conceiving and following sinister opinions against the clergie. Wherefore, afterward, he tasted and suffered much adversity and trouble. And not long after, in the yeare of our Lord, saith he, 1372, he wrote unto the bishop of Rome, that he should not by any meanes intermeddle any more within his kingdome, as touching the reservation, or distribution of benefices[5]: and that all such bishops

[5] *The reservation of benefices.*] This refers to a power gradually usurped by the Popes to a very great extent; whereby, before any ecclesiastical promotion became vacant, the see of Rome *reserved* the future nomination to itself, and declared that if any presentation was made, it should be void.

In one of these letters of the king and his parliament to Pope Clement VI. they thus expostulate against this evil.

"We have thought meet to signifie unto your Holiness, that divers reservations, provisions and collations, by your predecessours apostolike of Rome, and by you, most Holy Father, in your time have been granted (and that more largely than they have beene accustomed to be) unto divers persons, as wel strangers and of sundry nations, as unto some such as are our enemies; having no understanding at all of the tongue and conditions of them, of whom they have the government and

bishops as were under his dominion, should inj their former and ancient libertie, and be confirm of their metropolitanes, as hath been accustom in times past. Thus much writeth Caxton. Bu. as touching the just number of the yeare and time, we will not be very curious or carefull about it at this present. This is out of all doubt, that at what time all the world was in most desperate and vile estate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darknesse of God's truth had overshadowed the whole earth; this man stepped forth like a valiant champion, unto whom it may justly be applied that is spoken in the booke called Ecclesiasticus[6], of one Simon the sonne of Onias: Even as the morning star being in the middest of a cloud, and as the moone being full in her course, and as the bright beames of the sunne; so doth he shine and glister in the temple and church of God.

Thus doth almighty God continually succor and help, when all things are in despaire: being alwaies (according to the prophecie of the Psalme[7]) a

and cure: whereby a great number of soules are in perill, a great many of their parishioners in danger, the service of God destroyed, the almes and devotion of all men diminished, the hospitals perished, the churches with their appurtenances decayed, charitie withdrawne, the good and honest persons of our realme unadvanced, the charge and government of soules not regarded, the devotion of the people restrained, many poore scholars unpreferred, and the treasure of the realme carried out against the minds and intents of the founders. All which errors, defaults, and slanders, Most Holy Father, wee neither can nor ought to suffer or endure." Fox's Acts. P. 353. Edit. 1610. This was in the year 1343. An Act was passed in parliament the year following, to annul these reservations; but the effect produced was only partial. The dispute was several times revived; till about the year 1376, they were totally abolished in the kingdom of England, but by no means so in other countries, by Pope Gregory XI. Wilkin's *Concilia.* Vol. III. P. 97.

6 *Called Ecclesiasticus.*] Chap. L. v. 6.

7 *The Psalme.*] Psalme IX. v. 9, &c.

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nelper in time of need[8]. The which thing never more plainly appeared, than in these latter daies and extreame age of the church; when as the whole state and condition, not only of worldly things, but also of religion, was depraved and corrupted: That like as the disease named Lethargus among the physitions, even so the state of religion amongst the divines, was past all man's remedie. The onely name of Christ remained amongst christians, but his true and lively doctrine was as farre unknowne unto the most part, as his name was common unto all men. As touching faith, consolation, the end and use of the law, the office of Christ, of our impotencie and weakenesse, of the Holy Ghost, of the greatnesse and strength of sinne, of true works, of grace and free justification by faith, of libertie of a christian man, wherein consisteth and resteth the summe and matter of our profession; there was no mention, nor any word almost spoken. Scripture-learning and divinitie was knowne but unto a few, and that in the scholes onely, and there also turned and converted almost all into sophistry. In stead of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus, and the master of sentences. The world leaving and forsaking the lively power of God's spirituall word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and humane traditions, wherein the whole scope, in a manner, of all christian perfection did consist and depend. In these was all the hope of obtaining salvation fullie fixed: hereunto all things were attributed. Insomuch, that scarcely any other thing

[8] *In time of need.*] On the Causes and Necessity of the Reformation, see Hermanni von der Hardt *Historia Literaria Reformationis*. Parts I—IV. A. D. 1717. Hottingeri *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Vol. V—VII. Gibson's *Preservative against Popery*. Tit. 1. P. 1—132.

was seene in the temples or churches, taught, spoken of in sermons, or finallie intended or go about in their whole life, but only heaping up certaine shadowed ceremonies upon ceremonie: neither was there any end of their heaping.

The people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they did see, and did see almost nothing which they did not worship.

The church being degenerated from the true apostolicke institution above all measure (reserving only the name of the apostolicke church, but far from the truth thereof in very deed) did fall into all kind of extreame tyrannie: whereas the povertie and simplicitie of Christ was changed into crueltie and abomination of life. In stead of the apostolicke gifts and continuall labors and travels, slothfulnes and ambition was crept in amongst the priests. Beside all this, there arose and sprung up a thousand sorts and fashions of strange religions[9], being

[9] *Sorts and fashions of strange religions.*] That is, the various sects of monks and friars.

Amid so many corruptions, it is not to be wondered that the contagion spread from the heart and from manners, and invaded the *popular language*. Of this very baneful species of degeneracy, the instances are by no means infrequent. We have an example before us in the use of this term *religion;* a word, to the participation of which, with its corresponding epithet *religious*, the *laity* seem to have been allowed to make hardly any pretension. They were almost exclusively appropriated to the clergy, and especially to the several orders of monks and friars. Thus we read, in the *Complaint and Prayer of the Ploughman*, the work of a professed reformer: "The Pope clepith *(calleth)* himselfe Father of fathers, and maketh many *religions*. But whether is love and charity encreased by these fathers and by their *religions*, or else ymade lesse? For a frier ne loveth not a monke, ne a secular man neither; nor yet one frier another that is not of the order. Ah Lord! me thinketh that there is little perfection in these *religions!* The service that thou desirest is keeping of thine hests *(commandments)*; and then a lewd man (lay-man) may serve God, as well as a man of *religion;* though that the ploughman he may not have

being the onely roote and well-head of all superstition. How great abuses and depravations were crept into the sacraments, at what time they were compelled to worship similitudes and signes of things, for the very things themselves; and to adore such things as were instituted and ordained

have so much silver for his prayer, as men of *religion*." Fox. P. 368. Whytford's *Pype of Perfection*, printed A. D. 1532, is an elaborate apology for monachism. This curious book furnishes us with many examples of the same abuse of the term *religion*. "*Religyon* is made and standeth principally in the three essencial vowes, obedience, wilfull povertie, and chastitie. For these thre ben the substanciall partes of *religyon*." Fol. 2.—"The great heretyke Luther, with all his discyples, done deprave and utterly condempne all maner of *religyons*, except onely (as *they call hit*) the *religyon* of *Christe*. Wherefore I thought necessarye (unto the comforte of all suche persones as have or done purpose or intende to entre *religyon*) somewhat, after my poore understanding, to speke thereof." Fol. 3.—"A state appertaynynge unto monkes and solitarie persones, whiche state is now called onely *religyon*. And suche persones as ben bounden unto that state, and done lyve in *religion bene alone called religious persones*, and *none other persones ben so named communly, but onely they*." Fol. 232. The first quotation in this note supplies another apt instance of the corruption which we are remarking upon, in the use of the word *lewd;* which, as it should appear, denoting in its primitive signification, in the Anglo-Saxon, *ignorant*, was about the age of Wickliffe, perpetually used simply for *layman*, without being designed to convey any particular reproach; and at other times, in a worse sense, to which it is now exclusively appropriated. Under this example, the presumptuous revilings of the Pharisee can hardly fail of recurring to the mind of my readers. "This *people* who *knoweth not* the law, are *cursed*." John vii. 49. The only remaining instance of a corruption in language, which I shall adduce, is one nearly allied to those above referred to—the use of the term *Holy Church*. "When *men speken* of *holy churche* (says Wickliffe), they understonden anoon prelates and priests, monks, cannons and freres, and all men that have crowns (*the tonsure*), tho they liven never so cursedly agenst God's law; and clepen not ne holden secular men of *holy church*, tho they liven never so duly after God's law, and enden in perfect charity." Lewis's History, P. 126. Compare Tindall's works, p. 249. A.D. 1571.

only

only for memorials! Finally, what thing was there, in the whole state of christian religion so sincere, so sound and pure, which was not defiled and spotted with some kind of superstition? Besides this, with how many bonds and snares of dailie new fangled ceremonies were the sillie consciences of men, redeemed by Christ to liberty, snared and snarled! Insomuch, that there could be no great difference almost perceived betweene christianitie and Jewishnesse, save only the name of Christ: so that the state and condition of the Jewes, might seeme somewhat more tolerable then ours. The christian people were wholly carried away as it were by the noses, with meere decrees and constitutions of men, even whither as pleased the bishops to lead them, and not as Christ's will did direct them. All the whole world was filled and overwhelmed with errors and darkenesse. And no great marvell; for why, the simple and unlearned people being farre from all knowledge of the holy scripture, thought it sufficient enough for them, to know onlie these things which were delivered them by their pastors and shepheards; and they on the other part taught in a maner nothing else, but such things as came forth of the court of Rome: Whereof the most part tended to the profit of their order, more than to the glorie of Christ.

The Christian faith was esteemed or counted none other thing then, but that everie man should know that Christ once suffered, that is to say, that all men should know and understand that thing which the divels themselves also knew. Hypocrisie was counted for wonderfull holinesse. All men were so addict unto outward shewes, that even they themselves which professed the most absolute and singular knowledge of the scriptures, scarsly did understand or know any other thing. And this evidently did appeare, not onely in the common

sort

of doctors and teachers, but also in the very heads and captaines of the church; whose whole religion and holinesse consisted in a maner in the observing of daies, meats and garments, and such like rhetoricall circumstances, as of place, time, person, &c. Hereof sprang so many sorts and fashions of vestures and garments: so many differences of colours and meates: with so many pilgrimages to severall places, as though S. James at Compostella[1] could doe that, which Christ could not doe at Canturburie: or else that God were not of like power and strength in every place, or could not be found but being sought for by running and gadding hither and thither. Thus the holinesse of the whole yeare was transported and put off unto

[1] *S. James at Compostella.*] The pilgrimage to Compostella in Spain, famous throughout Europe, was accounted one of the most meritorious, and among the most highly favoured by supposed miraculous interpositions. A part of its celebrity, we are told, was owing to the length of the way, and the dangers of the journey. "A short pilgrimage (says Weever), is not worth a pin: neither is an image in so much honour and respect in that country where it is, as in far countries. For example, the Italians, yea those who dwell near Rome, will mock and scoff at our English and other pilgrims, who go to Rome to see the Pope's Holiness, and St. Peter's chair; and yet they they themselves will run to see the relics of St. James of Compostella, in the kingdom of Gallicia in Spain, which is above twelve hundred English miles." Weever's *Funeral Monuments.* Disc. P. CLXIII. Edit. 1767. The whole legend upon which the fame and the wealth of this celebrated spot was founded, which "has cost millions of christians many a weary step over rocks and mountains; who otherwise would have staid at home, and performed their devotions, and not have, by long sauntering pilgrimages, reduced themselves and their families to beggary; having nothing, by that means, left them but a few scollop shells upon a threadbare weed, and a feather or two of the cast of the cock which crowed when St. Peter denied his Lord," has been accurately examined, and its numerous falshoods and absurdities satisfactorily exposed by Dr. Michael Geddes, in the second volume of his *Miscellaneous Tracts.* P. 208—234.

the Lent season[2]. No countrie or land was counted holy, but onelie Palestina, where Christ had walked himselfe with his corporall feet. Such was the blindnesse of that time, men did strive and fight for the crosse at Hierusalem, as it had been for the chiefe and onelie force and strength of our faith. It is a wonder to reade the monuments of the former times, to see and understand what great troubles and calamities this crosse hath caused almost in every christian commonwealth. For the Romish

[2] *Put off unto the Lent season.*] Thus in the Festival, which consists of short sermons or homilies upon many of the Sundays, and the other principal feasts throughout the year, and was the book most commonly read in churches, even till the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. the discourse for the second Sunday in Lent thus begins:

"Good men and women, this is the seconde Sonday in clene Lente; wherefore lyke as ye have *all this yere before* made you honest and well besene in good araye to youre *body*, *now* shoulde ye be as soone besye to make you a *clene soule*. Wherefore this tyme of Lente is ordeyned to clense youre conscience from all maner rust and fylth of sinne." Festival, fol. 17 b. Again, "And for bycause that every man synnes more or lesse, for to make *satysfaccyon* for trespas, all crysten people ben bounden by the lawe of God and Hooly Chyrche to fast these forty dayes." Festival fol. 15. From such extracts as these, the reader will see the necessity of a reformation in doctrine, and will recognize one cause of the frequent insertion of those expressions in the liturgy, and other books of the Reformers, where Christ is spoken of as a "full and perfect *satisfaction*," "the only mediator and advocate," &c.—Yet once more. The Golden Legend, so denominated, because "as golde passeth all other metalles, so this boke excedeth all other bokes," upon the first Sunday in Lent, makes the following calculation: "We put to penaunce and affliccyon fro this present day unto Ester six wekes comynge, that ben forty-two dayes. Yf the Sondayes be taken awaye, there abyde in the abstynence but thirty-six dayes: and the yere is demeaned by three hondred and sixty-five dayes: (so) *we gyve the tythe of them* to *God* whan *we faste*." *Golden Legend*, fol. 14. Edit. 1527. By Wynkyn de Worde. In the same spirit the clergy of the Lower House of Convocation, solemnly complained to the prelates, in the year 1536,

Englishe champions never ceased, by writing, admonishing, and counselling, yea and by quarrelling, to move and stir up princes minds to warre and battell, even as though the faith and beleefe of the gospell, were of small force, or little effect without that wodden crosse. This was the cause of the expedition of the most noble prince, king Richard, unto Hierusalem, who being taken in the same journie, and delivered unto the emperour, could scarslie be ransomed home againe for thirty

1536, that among many other erroneous opinions, "it was preached, thought and spoken to the slander of this noble realm, disquietness of the people, and damage of christian soules, that the sinner offending in the Lent or other high feasts of the year, is worthy no more punishment, than he that transgresseth in any other time." Wilkins's Concilia, vol. III. p. 805. But, as knowledge and reformation advanced, a better temper began to prevail. Hence in the year 1545, we find Cuthbert Scot, no very zealous friend to the reformation, in a sermon at St. Paul's cross, thus expressing himself: "Now if the tyme wold suffre me, I wolde speake here of the fashyons of men nowe in these dayes. For many there be, as I thynke, whiche do not walke in this way, but do runne as it were in a circuit, and maye be lykened to a dogge that runneth in a whele, whiche styll goeth and laboreth, and when he maketh an ende, he is even where he begonne. And so I do feare that men do in these dayes. Theyr tyme goeth, and they growe in age, and yet, looke, how they lyved the laste yeare, and even so they lyve this yeare, and so wyll do the nexte: nothyng at all increasynge in vertue nor godlynes, but do as vittelars use to do, whiche take bread and drincke of bakers and brewers, to a daye, not payenge money in hande, but tale with them: and when the day of payment cometh, they paye theyr money, and strike off the old tales, and begynne agayne to tayle of newe. And even so do we. We be very bold with God all the yeare longe, and tale with hym tyll Lente comme: and then we be confessed, kepynge abstinence for a tyme, and receyve the holy sacrament, and so sone as Easter is past, we begyn even to tale of newe, and fall agayne to our olde kynde of lyvyng. But such be not these that David called in this place, happy; for they do not walke undefyled in this way." Signat. k. 7. Imprynted by Johannes Herford, at the costes of Robert Toye. 1545.

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thousand markes.[3] In the same enterprise or journie, Fredericus the emperour of Rome, a man of most excellent vertue, was much endamaged, an. 1170. And also Philip the king of France, scarslie returned home againe in safetie, not without great losses: so much did they esteeme the recovery of the holy citie and crosse.

Upon this alone, all men's eies, mindes and devotions, were so set and bent; as though either there were no other crosse but that, or that the crosse of Christ were in no other place but only at Hierusalem. Such was the blindnesse and superstition of those daies, which understood or knew nothing but such as were outwardlie seene: whereas the profession of our religion standeth in much other higher matters and greater mysteries. What is the cause why that Urbanus did so vexe and torment himselfe? Because that Antioch with the holy crosse, was lost out of the hands of the christians. For so wee doe find it in the chronicles, at what time as Jerusalem with K. Guido, and the crosse of our Lord was taken, and under the power of the Sultan, Urbanus took the matter so grievouslie, that for very sorrow he died. In whose place succeeded Lambertus which was called Gregorie the VIII, by whose motion it was decreed by the cardinals, that (setting apart all riches and voluptuousnesse) they should preach the crosse of Christ, and by their povertie and humilitie first of

[3] *Thirty thousand markes.*] In p. 225, Fox tells us that the ransom was *sixty* thousand marks. From Inett it appears, that the King agreed with the Emperor to pay for his ransom *a hundred thousand* marks, and to find fifty galleys and two hundred knights, at his own charge, for the Emperor's service for one year. But as all this could not be raised at once, part of the money was paid, and hostages given for the discharge of the remainder. Inett's *Origines Anglicanæ*. Vol. II. p. 354.

all

all should take the crosse upon them, and goe before others into the land of Jerusalem. These are the words of the historie; whereby it is evident unto the vigilant reader, unto what grossenesse the true knowledge of the spirituall doctrine of the gospell was degenerate and growne unto in those daies.

How great blindnesse and darkenesse was in those daies, even in the first primacie, and supremacie of the bishop of Rome; as though the outward succession of Peter and the Apostles, had been of great force and effect to that matter! What doth it force in what place Peter did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that every man should labour and studie with all their indevour to follow the life and confession of Peter: And that man seemeth unto me to be the true successor of Peter, against whom the gates of hell shall not prevaile. For if that Peter in the gospel do beare the type and figure of the christian church (as all men in a maner doe affirme) what more foolish or vaine thing can there bee; than through privat usurpation, to restraine and to bind that unto one man, which by the appointment of the Lord, is of it selfe free and open to so many.

Thus in these so great and troublous times and horrible darkenesse of ignorance, what time there seemed in a maner to be no one so little a sparke of pure doctrine left or remaining, this foresaid Wickliffe by God's providence sprang and rose up: through whom the Lord would first waken and raise up againe the world, which was overmuch drowned and whelmed in the deepe streames of humane traditions. Thus you have here the time of Wickliffe's originall.

Which Wickliffe, after he had now by a long time professed divinitie in the universitie of Oxford, and perceiving the true doctrine of Christ's gospell

gospell to be adulterate and defiled, with so many filthie inventions of bishops, sects of monks, and darke errours, he after long debating and deliberating with himselfe (with many secret sighes, and bewailing in his mind the generall ignorance of the whole world) could no longer suffer or abide the same, but that he at the last determined with himselfe to helpe and to remedie such things as hee saw to bee wide and out of the way. But forsomuch as he saw that this dangerous medling, could not be attempted or stirred without great trouble, neither that these things which had been so long time with use and custome rooted and grafted in men's minds, could bee suddenlie plucked up or taken away, hee thought with himselfe that this matter should be done by little and little. Wherefore he taking his originall at small occasions, thereby opened himselfe a way or meane to greater matters.

And first he assailed his adversaries in logicall and metaphysicall questions, disputing with them of the first forme and fashion of things, of the increase of time, and of the intelligible substance of a creature, with other such like sophemes[4] of no great effect: but yet notwithstanding they did not a little helpe and furnish him, which minded to dispute of greater matters. So in these matters first began Kegningham (a Carmelite) to dispute and argue against John Wickliffe.

By these originals, the way was made unto greater points, so that at the length he came to

[4] *Such like sophemes.*] "Hit is not inoughe for a prieste (after my jugement) to construe a collette, to put forth a question, or to answere to a *sopheme*, but moche more a good, a pure, and a holy life, approved maners, metely lernynge of holye scripture, some knowlege of the sacramentes; chiefly and above all thynge the feare of God, and love of the hevenly lyfe." Dean Colet's *Convocation Sermon*. P. 301, Knight's edition.

touch

touch the matters of the sacraments, and other abuses of the church. Touching which things this holy man tooke great paines, protesting (as they said) openlie in the schooles, that it was his chiefe and principall purpose and intent, to revoke and call backe the church from her idolatrie to some better amendment, especially in the matter of the sacrament of the bodie and blood of Christ. But this boil or sore could not bee touched without the great griefe and paine of the whole world. For first of all, the whole glut of monks and begging friers[5] were set on a rage or madnesse, which (even

[5] *Begging friers.*] The ecclesiastical history of these ages is full of the ambitious encroachments, the hypocrisy, and the immoralities of the mendicant orders. Their vices, which they endeavoured to hide under the cloke of extraordinary zeal and sanctity, gave many deep and lasting wounds to the interests of truth and of religion. The reader may not be displeased to see their *general* character well drawn by one who had studied them nearly—the learned Henry Wharton; a man, by whose premature death, the ecclesiastical history of this country, and other departments of literature, sustained incalculable losses.

"These mendicant orders arose and chiefly infested the church in the thirteenth age. They pretended an extraordinary call from God to reform the world, and correct the faults of the secular clergy. To this end they put on a mighty shew of zeal for the good of men's souls, and of contempt of the world; accused the secular clergy of famishing the souls of men, called them dumb dogs, and cursed hirelings; maintained that evangelical poverty became the ministers of the gospel; that it was unlawful for them to possess any thing, or to retain propriety in any worldly goods. As for the publick orders of the church, they would not be tied to them, alleging, that themselves being wholly spiritual, could not be obliged to any carnal ordinances. They broke in every where upon the parochial clergy; usurped their office; in all populous and rich places, set up altars of their own; withdrew the people from the communion of their parish priest; would scarce allow the hopes of salvation to any but their own disciples, whom they bewitched with great pretences of sanctity, and assiduity in preaching. These artifices had raised their reputation and interest so high in a few years, that they wanted

(even as hornets with their sharpe stings) did a
saile this good man on every side. After them
priests, and then after them the archbishop t
the matter in hand, being then Simon Sudburie,
for the same cause deprived him of his benefice,
which then he had in Oxford. Notwithstanding he
being somewhat friended and supported by the
King[6], as appeareth, continued and bare out the
malice of the friers, and of the archbishop all this
while of his first beginning, till about the yeere of
our Lord, 1377. After which time now to pro-
secute likewise of his troubles and conflict, first I
must fetch about a little compasse, as requisite is,
to inferre some mention of John of Gaunt duke of
Lancaster the King's sonne, and lord Henrie Percie,
which were his speciall maintainers.

As yeeres and time grew on, king Edward the
the third, which had raigned now about fifty-one
yeeres, after the decease of prince Edward his
sonne, who departed the yeere before, was strucken
in great age, and in such feeblenesse withall, that
he was unweldie through lacke of strength to go-
verne the affaires of the realme. Wherefore a
parliament being called the yeere before his death,
it was there put up by the knights and other the

very little to ruin the secular clergy, and therewith the church. But in less than an age the cheat of these impostors became manifest to all men. They procured to their societies incredible riches, built to themselves stately palaces; infinitely surpassed that viciousness of which themselves had (perhaps unjustly) accused the secular clergy; and long before the Reformation, became the most infamous and contemptible part of the church of Rome" Defence of Pluralities. P. 9, 10. A.D. 1692.

[6] *Supported by the King.*] In the forty-eighth year of Edward III. Wickliffe, then reader in divinity in Oxford, was the second named in a commission from that prince to treat with ambassadors from the Pope, of the matters in dispute between the realm of England and the see of Rome. Fox. P. 390.

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burgesses of the parliament (because of the misgovernment of the realme by certaine greedie persons about the king, raking all to themselves, without seeing any justice done) that twelve sage and discreet lords, and peeres, such as were free from note of all avarice, should bee placed as tutours about the king, to have the doing and disposing under him (sixe at one time, and in their absence sixe at another) of matters pertinent to the publike regiment.

These twelve governors by the parliament aforesaid being appointed to have the tuition of the king, and to attend to the publike affaires of the realme, remained for a certaine space about him, till afterward it so fell out, that they being againe removed, all the regiment of the realme next under the king, was committed to the duke of Lancaster the kings son. For as yet Richard the sonne of prince Edward lately departed, was very young and under age.

This duke of Lancaster had in his heart of long time conceived a certaine displeasure against the popish clergie: whether for corrupt and impure doctrine joyned with like abominable excesse of life, or for what some other cause, it is not precisely expressed. Onely by storie the cause thereof may be gessed, to rise by William Wickam bishop of Winchester. The matter is this.

The bishop of Winchester (as the saying went then) was reported to affirme, that the foresaid John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, was not the sonne of king Edward, nor of the queene. Who being in travell at Gaunt, had no sonne (as he said) but a daughter; which the same time by lying upon of the mother in the bed, was there smothered. Whereupon, the queene fearing the kings displeasure, caused a certaine manchild of a wo-

man of Flanders (borne the very same time) to be conveied and brought unto her in stead of her daughter aforesaid, and so brought up the child whom shee bare not, who now is called duke of Lancaster. And this (said the bishop) did the queene tell him, lying in extreemes on her death-bed under seale of confession; charging him if the said duke should ever aspire to get the crowne, or if the kingdome by any meanes should fall unto him, he then should manifest the same, and declare it to the world, that the said duke of Lancaster was no part of the kings bloud, but a false heire of the king. This slanderous report of the wicked bishop[7], seemeth to proceed of a subtill zeale toward the popes religion: for that the foresaid duke by favouring of Wickliffe, declared himselfe to be a professed enemie against the popes profession. Which thing was then not unknowne, neither unmarked of the prelats and bishops then in England. But the sequell of the storie thus followed:

This slanderous villanie of the bishops report being blazed abroad, and comming to the

[7] *The wicked bishop.*] Bishop Lowth, in his *Life of William of Wykeham* (p. 145—146, edit. 2d) discards the whole of this story as altogether absurd and incredible. The D. of Lancaster, he remarks, was the *seventh child* of the king, and the *fourth son*, of whom only the second son and the fourth daughter died in their infancy. Can we suppose then, he asks, that the king would be very desirous of another son, or the queen under any temptation to impose one upon him?—Without taking any part in the dispute, we may be permitted to remark, that the bishop's argument proceeds in the neglect of a part of the alledged circumstances of the case. It does not appear in the story that it was a *son* that the queen wished to impose, so much as a *child*, in lieu of that which she is said to have smothered, and in dread of the king's displeasure. "If a woman by negligence" (says Chaucer) "overlyeth her child in her sleeping, it is homicide and deadly sin." Parson's Tale. P. 182. Edit. 1687.

dukes

dukes eare, he therewith being not a little discontented (as no marvell was) sought again by what meanes he could, to bee revenged of this forenamed bishop. In conclusion, the duke having now all the government of the realme under the king his father, in his owne hand, so pursued the bishop of Winchester, that by act of parliament he was condemned and deprived of all his temporall goods, which goods were assigned to prince Richard of Burdeux, the next inheritour of the crowne after the king; and furthermore inhibited the said bishop not to approch neere to the court by twenty miles.

Not long after in the yeere of our Lord, 1377. a parliament was called by the meanes of the duke of Lancaster, upon certaine causes and respects; in which parliament great request and sute was made by the clergie for the deliverance of the bishop of Winchester. At length when a subsidie was asked in the kings name of the clergie, and request also made in the kings behalfe for speedie expedition to bee made for the dissolving of the parliament, the archbishop therefore accordingly convented the bishops for the tractation thereof. To whom the bishops with great lamentation complained for lacke of their fellow and brother bishop of Winton. Whose injurie, said they, did derogate to the liberties of the whole church: and therefore denied to joyne themselves in tractation of any such matters, before all the members together were united with the head: and (seeing the matter touched them all together in common, as well him as them) would not otherwise doe: and seemed moreover to be mooved against the archbishop for that hee was not more stout in the cause, but suffered him to be cited of the duke.

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The archbishop although having sufficient cause to excuse himselfe, wherefore not to send for him (as also he did) because of the perils which might ensue thereof; yet being inforced and perswaded thereunto, by the importunitie of the bishops, directed downe his letters to the foresaid bishop of Winton, willing him to resort unto the convocation of the clergie; who being glad to obay the same, was received with great joy of the other bishops. And at length the said Winchester was restored to his owne temporalities againe.

As the bishops had thus sent for Winchester, the duke in the meane time had sent for John Wickliffe: who, as is said, was then the divinitie reader in Oxford, and had commenced in sundrie acts and disputations, contrary to the forme and teaching of the popes church in many things: who also for the same had been deprived of his benefice, as hath been afore touched.

The opinions which he began in Oxford, first in his lectures and sermons to intreat of, and wherefore hee was deprived, were these: That the pope had no more power to excommunicate any man, then hath another. That if it bee given by any person to the pope to excommunicate, yet to absolve the same is as much in the power of another priest, as in his. He affirmed moreover, that neither the king nor any temporall lord could give any perpetuitie to the church, or to any ecclesiasticall person: for that when such ecclesiasticall persons doe sinne, habitualiter, continuing in the same still, the temporall powers ought and may meritoriouslie, take away from them, that before hath been bestowed upon them. And that hee proved, to have been practised before here in England by William Rufus. Which thing (said he) if he did lawfully,

lawfully, why may not the same also be practised now? if he did it unlawfully, then doth the church erre (saith hee) and doth unlawfully in praying for him. But of his assertions more shall follow (Christ willing) hereafter. The storie which ascribeth to him these assertions being taken out, (as I take it) of the monasterie of S. Albans, addeth withall, that in his teaching and preaching hee was very eloquent, but a dissembler (saith he) and an hypocrite. Why he surmiseth him to bee an hypocrite, the cause was this: because he and his fellowes usually accustomed in their preaching to goe barefoot, and in simple russet gownes.

By this I suppose, may sufficiently appeare to the indifferent, the nature and condition of Wickliffe, how farre it was from ambition and pride; the slanderous penne of Polydore Virgil, reporting in his nineteenth book of him, that because he was not preferred to higher honors and dignities of the church (conceiving therefore indignation against the clergy) he became their mortall enemie. How true this was, he only knoweth best, that rightly shall judge both the one and the other.

In the mean time, by other circumstances and parts of his life, we may also partly conjecture what is to be thought of the man. But howsoever it was in him either true or false, yet it had been Polydors part, either not so intemperatelie to have abused his pen, or at least to have shewed some greater authoritie and ground of that his report. For to follow nothing else but flying fame, so rashlie to defame a man whose life hee knoweth not, is not the part of a faithfull storie writer.

But to return from whence we digressed. Beside these his opinions and assertions above recited, with other moe, which are hereafter to bee brought in order, hee began also then something

neerelie to touch the matter of the sacrament, prooving that in the said sacrament, the accidences of bread [8] remained not without the subject, or substance, both by the holie scriptures, and also by the authoritie of the doctors, but especially by such as were most ancient. As for the latter writers, that is to say such as have written upon that argument under the thousand yeeres since Christs time, hee utterly refused them; saying, that after these yeeres Satan was loosed and set at libertie: and that since that time the life of man hath bin most subject and in danger of errors: the simple and plaine truth to appeare and consist in the scriptures, whereunto all humane traditions whatsoever they be, must be referred, and speciallie such as are set forth and published now of late yeeres. This was the cause why he refused the latter writers of decretals, leaning onelie to the

[8] *Accidences of bread.*] "They seyen that this sacrament is neither bread, ne Christ's body, but accidents withouten suject (*subject*), and there under is Christ's body. This is not taught in holy-writ, but is fulv agenst St. Austin, and holy saints, and reason, and wit." Wickliffe, in Lewis's History, p. 80. In Jewel's famous challenge at Paul's Cross, this was one of the articles which he called upon the Romanists to prove to be a doctrine of the church within the six first centuries; "that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, there remain only the accidents, and shews without the substance of bread and wine." In his answer to this challenge, Master Harding openly declares, that "in this sacrament, *after consecration*, nothing in substance remaineth that was before, neither bread, nor wine, but only the *accidents* of bread and wine, as their form and shape, savor, sell, colour, weight, and such like, which here have their being miraculously, without their *subject*: forasmuch as after consecration, there is none other substance, than the substance of the body and blood of our Lord, which is not affected with *such accidents*; which doctrine, though not with these precise terms, hath always been taught and believed from the beginning." Jewel's Reply. P. 312, 313. Edit. 1609.

scriptures

scriptures and ancient doctors; most stoutly affirming out of them, in the sacrament of the bodie which is celebrate with bread, the accidence not to bee present without the substance: that is to say, that the bodie of Christ is not present without the bread, as the common sort of priests in those daies did dreame. As for his arguments what they were, wee will shortly at more opportunitie by Gods grace, declare them in another place. But herein the truth (as the poet speaketh very truely) had gotten John Wickliffe great displeasure and hatred at many mens hands; and specially of the monks and richest sort of priests. Albeit, through the favor and supportation of the duke of Lancaster, and lord Henrie Percie, hee persisted hitherto in some meane quiet against their wolvish violence and crueltie: till at last about the yeere of our Lord 1376. the bishops, still urging and inciting their archbishop Simon Sudburie, who before had deprived him, and afterward prohited him also not to stir any more in those sorts of matters, had obtained by processe an order of citation to have him brought before them. Whereunto both place and time for him to appeare after their usuall forme was to him assigned.

The duke having intelligence that Wickliffe his client should come before the bishops, fearing that he being but one, was too weake against such a multitude, calleth to him out of the orders of friers, foure bachelers of divinitie, out of every order one, to joyne them with Wickliffe also for more suretie. When the day was come assigned to the said Wickliffe to appeare, which day was thursday, the nineteenth of Februarie; John Wickliffe went, accompanied with the foure friers aforesaid, and with them also the duke of Lancaster, and lord Henrie Percie, lord Marshall of England.

England, the said lord Percie also going before them to make roome and way wherewith Wickliffe should come.

Thus Wickliffe (through the providence of God) being sufficiently garded, was comming to the place where the bishops sate: whom by the way they animated and exhorted not to feare nor shrinke a whit at the companie of the bishops there present, who were all unlearned (said they) in respect of him; (for so proceed the words of my foresaid author, whom I follow in this narration) neither that he should dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselves assist and defend, in such sort as he should take no harme. With these words, and with the assistance of the nobles, Wickliffe in heart incouraged, approcheth to the church of S. Paul in London, where a maine prease [9] of people was gathered to heare what should be said and done. Such was there the frequencie and throng of the multitude; that the lords (for all the puissance of the High Marshall) unneth [1] with great difficultie could get way through. Insomuch, that the bishop of London (whose name was William Courtney) seeing the stir that the lord Marshall kept in the church

[9] *A maine prease.*] A *great press* of people.

[1] *Unneth.*] *Hardly*, with *difficulty*. Thus the Festival in the legend of St. Thomas Becket: "And in especyall the kinges palays at London and at Westminster that was all lete fallen downe, betwene Eester and Wytsontide Thomas made to repayre it ayen; for he hadde there so many werkmen of dyverse craftes, that a man sholde *unnethe* here his felowe speke for donnynges of strokes." Fol. 78. b. Again, of the begging friars, who travelled about the country under the pretence of raising money for building churches, &c.

—— These bilderes wiln beggen a bag ful of whete
Of a pure poor man that may *onethe* paye
Half his rent in a yere, and half ben behynde.
Pierce the Ploughman's Creed. A. D. 1553. 4to.

among

among the people, speaking to the lord Percie, said; that if hee had knowne before what maistries hee would have kept in the church, he would have stopped him out from comming there. At which words of the bishop, the duke disdaining not a little, answered to the bishop againe, and said; that hee would keep such mastrie there, though he said nay.

At last, after much wrastling they pierced through and came to our Ladies chapell, where the dukes and barons were sitting together with the archbishops and other bishops, before whom the forsaid John Wickliffe according to the manner, stood before them, to know what should be laid unto him. To whom first spake the lord Percie, bidding him to sit downe, saying; that he had many things to answer to, and therefore had neede of some softer seat. But the bishop of London cast eftsoones into a fumish chafe with those words, said; he should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to law or reason, that he which was cited there to appeare to answere before his ordinarie, should sit downe during the time of his answer, but should stand. Upon these words a fire began to heat and kindle betweene them, insomuch that they began to rate and to revile one the other, that the whole multitude therewith disquieted, began to be set on in a hurrey.

Then the duke taking the lord Percies part with hastie words began also to take up the bishop. To whom the bishop againe nothing inferior in reprochful checkes and rebukes did render and requite not only to him as good as hee brought; but also did so farre excell him, in this railing art of scolding, that to use the words of mine author, Erubuit Dux quod non potuit prævalere litigio, the duke blushed and was ashamed, because he could

could not overpasse the bishop in brawling and railing; and therefore fell to plaine threatning, menacing the bishop, that he would bring downe the pride not onely of him, but also of all the prelacie of England. And speaking moreover unto him: Thou (said hee) bearest thyselfe so brag upon thy parents, which shall not be able to helpe thee: They shall have enough to doe to help themselves. For his parents were the earle and countesse of Devonshire. To whom the bishop againe answered, that to bee bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom he trusted. Then the duke softly whispering in the ear of him next by him, said that he would rather plucke out the bishop by the haire of his head out of the church, then he would take this at his hand. This was not spoken so secretlie, but that the Londoners overheard him. Whereupon being set in a rage, they cried out, saying; that they would not suffer their bishop so contemptuouslie to be abused, but rather they would lose their lives, then that he should so be drawne out by the haire. Thus that councell being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before nine of the clocke.

Upon the 12. day of the month of June, in the year 1378, died the worthie and victorious prince king Edward the third, after hee had raigned fifty-one yeeres. A prince no more aged in yeeres then renowned for many singular and heroicall vertues, but principally noted and lauded for his singular meeknesse and clemencie towards his subjects and inferiors, ruling them by gentlenesse and mercie, without all rigour or austere severitie. Among other noble and royall ornaments of his nature, worthilie and copiouslie set forth of many,

thus

thus hee is described of some, which may brieflie suffice for the comprehension of all the rest: To the orphans hee was as a father, compatient to the afflicted, mourning with the miserable, relieving the oppressed, and to all them that wanted an helper in time of neede, but chiefly above all other things, in this prince to bee commemorate in my mind, is this; that hee above all other kings of this realme, unto the time of king Henrie the eight was the greatest brideler of the popes usurped power and outragious oppressions: during all the time of which king, neither the pope could greatly prevaile in this realme, and also John Wickliffe was maintained with favour and aid sufficient.

But before we close up the storie of this king, there commeth to hand that which I thought not good to omit, a noble purpose of the king in requiring a view to be taken in all his dominions of all beneficies and dignities ecclesiasticall remaining in the hands of Italians and Aliens, with the true valuation of the same directed downe by commission; the tenour of which commission I thought hereunder to set downe for worthie memorie.

The king directed writs unto all the bishops of England in this forme.

Edward by the grace of God king, &c. To the reverend father in Christ N. By the same grace bishop of L. greeting. Being willing upon certaine causes to bee certified what and how many benefices aswell archdeaconries and other dignities, as vicarages, parsonages, prebends and chapels, within your diocesse, be at this present in the hands of Italians and other strangers, what they be, of what value, and how every of the said benefices be called by name: And how much every of the same

is worth by the yeere, not as by way of taxe or extent, but according to the true value of the same: likewise of the names of all and singuler such strangers being now incumbents or occupying the same and every of them: moreover the names of al them, whether Englishmen or strangers, of what state or condition soever they be, which have the occupation or disposition of any such benefices with the fruits and profits of the same, in the behalfe or by the authority of any of the aforesaid strangers by way of farme, or title of procuration, or by any other waies or meanes whatsoever, and how long they have occupied or disposed the same: and withall if any the said strangers be now residents upon any benefices: wee command you, as we heretofore commanded you, that you send us a true certificat of al and singuler the premisses, into our high court of Chancerie under your seale distinctlie and openlie, on this side the feast of the Ascension of our Lord next comming, without further delay; returning unto us this our writ withall. Witnesse our selfe, at Westminster 16. day of Aprill in the 48. yeere of our raigne of England, and over France the 35. yeere.

By vertue hereof certificat was sent up to the king into his Chancery, out of every diocesse of England, of all such spirituall livings as were then in the occupation either of priors aliens, or of other strangers, whereof the number was so great[2], as being

[2] *The number was so great.*] Even so early as the reign of Henry III. according to Matthew Paris, the annual amount of the benefices in the hands of Italians in this kingdom was seventy thousand marks, more than three times the value of the whole revenue of the crown. M. Paris *in vit. Henrici III.* ad. ann. 1252. Fox, p. 262. Grosthed bishop of Lincoln having protested loudly against these enormities, and baffled Pope

being all set downe, would fill almost halfe a quier of paper. Wherby may appeare that it was high time for the king to seeke remedie herein, either by treatie with the pope or otherwise: considering so great a portion of the revenues of his realme was by this meanes conveied away and employed either to the releefe of his enemies, or maintenance of the Forrainers; amongst which number, the cardinals of the court of Rome lacked not their share.

After king Edward the third, succeeded his sonnes sonne, Richard the second, being yet but young, of the age of eleven yeeres; who in the same yeer of his fathers decease with great pompe and solemnitie was crowned at Westminster, an. 1737. who following his fathers steppes, was no great disfavourer of the way and doctrine of Wickliffe, albeit at the first beginning, partly through the iniquitie of the time, partly through the popes letters, hee could not doe that hee would. Notwithstanding something he did in that behalfe, more perhaps then in the end he had thanke for of the papists, as more (by the grace of Christ) shall appeare.

But as times do change, so changeth commonly the case and state of man. The bishops now seeing the aged king to be taken away, during the time of whose old age all the government of

Pope Innocent the IV. in his design of making a like provision for one of his nephews; the Chroniclers tell us that the pope had determined, after Grosthed's death, that his bones should be dis-interred, and he condemned as a heretic. Grosthed, however, the same Chroniclers tell us, put a stop to this design, by appearing unexpectedly to the pope, reprehending him very severely, and inforcing the lecture by smiting him on the side with a vehement stroke from the butt end of his crosier. Mat. Par. ann. 1254.

the realme depended upon the duke of Lancaster; and now the said bishops againe seeing the said duke, with the lord Percie, the lord Marshall, to give over their offices, and to remaine in their privat houses without intermedling, thought now the time to serve them, to have some vantage against John Wickliffe, who hitherto under the protection of the foresaid duke, and lord Marshall had some rest and quiet. Concerning the storie of which Wickliffe, I trust (gentle reader) it is not out of thy memorie what went before, how he being brought before the bishops, by the meanes of the duke and lord Henry Percie, the councell was interrupted, and brake before nine of the clocke. By reason whereof, Wickliffe at that time escaped without any further trouble. Who notwithstanding being by the bishops forbid to deal in that doctrine any more, continued yet with his fellowes going barefoot, and in long frise gownes, preaching diligently unto the people. Out of whose sermons these articles most chiefly at that time were collected.

That the holie Eucharist after the consecration, is not the very bodie of Christ, but figuratively.

That the church of Rome, is not the head of all churches more than any other church is: Nor that Peter hath any more power given of Christ, then any other apostle hath.

Item, that the pope of Rome hath no more in the keies of the church, than hath any other within the order of priesthood.

Item, if God be; the lords temporall may lawfullie and meritoriouslie take away their temporalities from the churchmen offending, habitualiter.

Item, if any temporall lord doe know the church so offending, he is bound under paine

of damnation, to take the temporalities from the same.

Item, that the gospell is a rule sufficient of it selfe to rule the life of every christian man here, without any other rule.

Item, that all other rules, under whose observances divers religious persons be governed, doe add no more perfection to the gospell, then doth the white colour to the wall.

Item, that neither the pope nor any other prelate of the church, ought to have prisons wherein to punish transgressors.

Beside these articles, divers other conclusions afterwards were gathered out of his writings and preachings by the bishops of England, which they sent diligentlie to pope Gregorie at Rome; where the said articles being read and perused, were condemned for hereticall and erroneous by three and twentie cardinals.

In the meane time the archbishop of Canterburie, sending forth his citations, as is aforesaid, called before him the said John Wickliffe in the presence of the duke of Lancaster, and lord Percie, who upon the declaration of the popes letters made, bound him to silence, forbidding him not to entreat any more of those matters. But then through the disturbance of the bishop of London and the duke, and lord Percie, that matter was soone dispatched, as hath been above recorded. And all this was done, in the daies and last yeere of K. Edward the third, and pope Gregorie the eleventh.

The next yeere following, which was the yeere of our Lord 1378. being the first yeere of king Richard the second[1]; the said pope Gregorie taking

[1] *Richard the second.*] Fox mistakes both the year in which these bulls were dispatched, and the reigning prince. The date

taking his time after the death of king Edward sending his bull by the hands and meanes (peradventure) of one master Edmund Stafford, directed unto the Universitie of Oxford, rebuking them sharplie, imperiouslie and like a pope, for suffering so long the doctrine of John Wickliffe to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked sickle of their catholic doctrine. Which bull when it came to be exhibited unto their hands, by the popes messenger aforesaid, the proctors and masters of the universitie joyning together in consultation, stood long in doubt, deliberating with themselves, whether to receive the popes bull with honour, or to refuse and reject it with shame.

"I cannot here but laugh in my mind to behold the authors of this storie whom I follow: what exclamations, what wondrings and marvels, they make at these Oxford men, for so doubting at a matter so plaine, so manifest of it selfe, (as they say) whether the popes bull sent to them from Rome was to be received, or contrarie. Which thing to our monkish writers seemed then such a prodigious wonder, that they with blushing cheekes are faine to cut off the matter in the middest with silence."

The copie of this wild bull, sent to them from the pope, was this.

date ought to be 1377; and the king was Edward III. as appears beyond dispute, from Wilkins's Concil. vol. iii. p. 118. The same mistake is repeated again, and defended, below. Edward died June 21, 1377.

Gregorie

"*Gregorie the bishop, the servant of Gods servants, to his wel-beloved sonnes, the Chancellour and Universitie of Oxford, in the diocesse of Lincolne, greeting, and apostolicall benediction.*

"We are compelled not only to marvel, but also to lament that you, considering the apostolicall seate hath given unto your University of Oxford so great favour and priviledge, and also for that you flow as in a large sea in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the ancient and catholike faith (without the which there is no salvation,) by your great negligence and sloth, will suffer wild cockle, not only to grow up among the pure wheate of the florishing field of your University, but also to waxe more strong and choke the corne. Neither have ye any care (as wee are informed) to extirpe and plucke the same up by the rootes, to the great blemishing of your renoumed name, the perill of your soules, the contempt of the church of Rome, and to the great decay of the ancient faith. And further (which grieveth us) the encrease of that filthie weed was more sharpely rebuked and judged of in Rome then in England where it sprang. Wherefore let there be meanes sought by the helpe of the faithfull, to roote out the same.

"Grievously it is come to our ears, that one John Wickliffe, parson of Lutterworth in Lincolne dioces, a professour of divinitie (would God he were not rather a master of errours) is runne into a kind of detestible wickednesse, not onely and openly publishing, but also vomiting out of the filthy dungeon of his breast, divers professions, false and erroneous conclusions, and most wicked and damnable heresies, whereby he might defile

the faithfull sort, and bring them from the right path headlong into the way of perdition, overthrow the state of the church, and utterly subvert the secular policie. Of which his mischievous heresies, some seeme to agree (onely certaine names and tearmes changed) with the perverse opinions, and unlearned doctrine of Marsilius of Padua, and John [4] of Gandune, of unworthie memorie, whose bookes were utterly abolished in the realme of England, by our predecessor of happie memorie John twenty-two. Which kingdome doth not only flourish in power, and abundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and shining in purenesse of faith; accustomed alwaies to bring forth men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the holy Scriptures, ripe in gravitie of maners, men notable in devotion, and defenders of the catholike faith. Wherefore wee will and command you by our writing apostolicall, in the name of your obedience, and upon paine of privation of our favour, indulgences and priviledges granted unto you and your Universitie, from the said see apostolicall; that hereafter ye suffer not those pestilent heresies, those subtill and false conclusions and propositions, misconstruing the right sense of faith and good workes (howsoever they tearme it, or what curious implication of words soever they use) any longer to be disputed of, or brought in question: lest if it be not withstood at the first, and plucked

[4] *Marsilius of Padua, and John.*] In the year 1535, the obnoxious work of Marsilius, intitled, *Defensorium Pacis*, was translated and published in English, in justification of the proceedings of Henry VIII. against the pope, by William Marshall, under the title, *The defence of Peace*, &c. fol. For some account of him, and of John Ganduno, see Fox's Acts, p. 358.

up by the roots, it might perhaps be too late hereafter to prepare medicines when a greater number is infected with the contagion. And further, that yee apprehend immediately or cause to be apprehended the said John Wickliffe, and deliver him to be detained in the safe custodie of our welbeloved brethren, the archbishop of Canterburie, and the bishop of London, or either of them. And if you shall find any gaine-sayers, corrupted with the said doctrine (which God forbid) in your said Universitie within your jurisdiction, that shall obstinately stand in the said errours; that then in like maner yee apprehend them, and commit them to safe custodie; and otherwise to doe in this case as it shall appertaine unto you: so as by your carefull proceedings herein, your negligence past concerning the premisses, may now fully be supplied and recompensed with present diligence. Whereby you shall not onely purchase unto you the favour and benevolence of the seat apostolicall, but also great reward and merit of almightie God.

"Given at Rome at S. Maries the greater, xj. Kalends of June, and in the seventh yeare of our consecration."

Beside this bull sent to the Universitie of Oxford, the said pope Gregorie directed moreover his letters the same time to the archbishop of Canturbury Simon Sudburie, and to the bishop of London named William Courtney, with the conclusions of John Wickliffe therein inclosed, commanding them, by vertue of those his letters [5] apostolicall, and straitly injoyning them to cause the

[5] *Those his letters.*] This letter is printed in Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 116, 117, from Sudbury's Register.

said

said John Wickliffe to be apprehended, and cast into prison: and that the king and the nobles of England should be admonished by them, not to give any credit to the said John Wickliffe, or to his doctrine in any wise.

Beside this bill or bull of the pope, sent unto the archbishop of Canturbury and to the bishop of London, bearing the date, 11. Calend. Jun. and the 7. yeare of the reigne of the pope, I find moreover in the said storie, two other letters[6] of the pope concerning the same matter, but differing in forme, sent unto the same bishops, and all bearing the same date both of the day, yeare, and moneth of the reigne of the said pope Gregory. Whereby it is to be supposed, that the pope either was very exquisite and solicitous about the matter, to have Wickliffe to be apprehended, which wrote three different divers letters to one person, and all in one day, about one businesse; or else that hee did suspect the bearers thereof; the scruple whereof I leave to the judgement of the reader.

Furthermore, beside these letters written to the University, and to the bishops, he directeth also another epistle bearing the same date unto king Edward; as one of my stories saith, but as an other saith, to K. Richard, which soundeth more neere to the truth, forasmuch as in the seventh yeare of pope Gregorie the xi. which was the yeare of our Lord, 1378. king Edward was not

[6] *Two other letters.*] These also are printed by Wilkins, p. 117, 118. In consequence of the former of these letters, a dispatch was directed from the archbishop and the bishop of London, bearing date 5. Calend. Januar. to the chancellor of the University of Oxford, commanding him to cite Wickliffe to appear at St. Paul's, London, before the archbishop and bishop, or their delegates. Wilkins, Vol: iii. p. 123, 124.

valive. The copie of his letters to the king here followeth.

"Unto his well beloved son in Christ, Richard the most noble king of England, health, &c.

"The kingdome of England which the most highest hath put under your power and governance, being so famous and renoumed in valiancie and strength, so abundant and flowing in all kind of wealth and riches; but much more glorious, resplendent and shining through the brightnesse and cleerenesse of all godlinesse and faith, hath accustomed alwaies to bring forth men endued with the true knowledge and understanding of the holy Scriptures, grave in yeares, fervent in devotion, and defenders of the catholike faith: the which have not onely directed and instructed their owne people, but strangers also, through their wholesome doctrine and precepts into the true path of Gods commandements; but, we have heard by the report and information of many credible persons (to our great greefe and heart sorrow) that John Wickliffe parson of Lutterworth, in the diocesse of Lincolne, professor of Divinitie (I would to God hee were no author of heresie) is fallen into such a detestable and abominable madnesse, that he hath propounded and set forth divers and sundrie conclusions full of errors, and containing most manifest heresie, the which doe tend utterly to subvert and overthrow the state of the whole church. Of the which, some of them (albeit under coloured phrase and speech) seem to smel and savor of perverse opinions, and the foolish doctrine of condemned memorie of Marsilius of Padua, & John of Gandune, whose bookes were by pope John the 22. our predecessor, a man of most happie memorie, reproved and condemned, &c."

Hitherto

Hitherto gentle Reader, thou hast heard how Wickliffe was accused by the bishop. Now you shall also heare the popes mightie reasons and arguments, by the which hee did confute him to the king. It followeth.

"Therefore, forsomuch as our reverend brethren the archbishop of Canturburie, and the bishop of London have received a speciall commandement from us by our authoritie, to apprehend and commit the forenamed John Wickliffe unto prison, and to transport his confession unto us: if they shall seeme in the prosecution of this their businesse to lacke your favor or helpe, we require and most earnestly desire your majestie, even as your most noble predecessors have alwaies beene most earnest lovers of the catholike faith (whose case or quarrel in this matter is chieflie handled) that you would vouchsafe even for the reverence of God, and the faith aforesaid, and also of the apostolike seate, and of our person, that you will with your helpe and favour, assist the said archbishop and all other that shall goe about to execute the said businesse. Whereby besides the praise of men, you shall obtaine a heavenly reward and great favour and good will at our hand, and of the see aforesaid. Dated at Rome at S. Mary the greater, the 11. Kalend. of June, in the seventh yeare of our bishoprike."

The articles included in the popes letters which hee sent to the bishops, and to the king against Wickliffe, were these as in order they do follow.

The

The Conclusions of John Wickliffe, exhibited in the Convocation of certaine Bishops at Lambeth.

"All the whole race of mankind here on earth besides Christ hath no power simplie, to ordaine that Peter and all his offspring should politickelie rule over the world for ever.

"2. God cannot give to any man for him and his heirs any civil dominion for ever.

"3. All writings invented by men, as touching perpetual heritage, are impossible.

"4. Every man being in grace justifying[7], hath not onely right unto, but also for his time hath indeed all the good things of God.

"5. A man can but only ministratoriouslie give any temporall or continuall gift, either as well to his naturall son, as to his son by imitation.

"6. If God be, the temporall lords may lawfully and meretoriouslie take away the riches from the church when they doe offend *habitualiter*.

"7. We know that[8] Christs vicar cannot, neither is able by his buls, neither by his owne will and consent, neither by the consent of his colledge, neither to make able or disable any man.

"8. A

[7] *In grace justifying.*] This conclusion, which the pope wished to fix upon Wickliffe, is designed to express a doctrine which, in subsequent times, made a much greater figure in the church; namely, that *dominion is founded in grace*. But Lewis assures us, that this was no tenet of Wickliffe's. History, p. 115—117. p. 342. See also Lewis's *Brief History of Anabaptism*, p. 20. A. D. 1738; and Fox's Acts, p. 398.

[8] *We know that.*] Between this and the preceding conclusion, there stands in Sudbury's Register (Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 123.) another article, which probably was by mistake left out in Fox's transcript. It is as follows, according to Lewis's translation:

"VII.

" 8. A man cannot be excommunicate[d] hurt or undoing, except he be first an[d] pri excommunicate by himselfe.

" 9. No man ought, but in Gods cause [illegible] excommunicat, suspend, or forbid, or otherwise to proceed to revenge by any ecclesiasticall censure.

" 10. A curse or excommunication do not simply bind, but in case it be pronounced & given out against the adversary of Gods law.

" 11. There is no power given by any example, either by Christ or by his apostle, to excommunicate any subject, specially for denying of any temporalties, but rather contrariwise.

" 12. The disciples of Christ, have no power to exact by any civil authoritie, temporalties by censures.

" 13. It is not possible by the absolute power of God,. that if the pope, or any other christian doe pretend by any meanes to bind or to loose, that thereby he doth so bind and loose.

" 14. We ought to beleeve that the vicar of Christ, doth at such times onely bind and loose, when as he worketh conformablie by the law and ordinance of Christ.

" 15. This ought universally to bee beleeved, that every priest rightly and duly ordered, according unto the law of grace, hath power according to his vocation, whereby he may minister the sacraments, and consequently absolve any man confessing his fault, being contrite and penitent for the same.

" VII. Whether the church be in such a state or not is not my business to examine ; but the business of temporal lords, who, if they find it in such a state, are to act boldly, and on the penalty of damnation to take away its temporalities." Lewis's History, p. 43.

" 16. It

"16. It is lawful for kings (in causes licensed by the law) to take away the temporalties from the the spiritualtie, sinning *habitualiter*, that is, which continue in the custome of sin, and will not amend.

"17. Whether they be temporall lords, or any other men whatsoever they be, which have endowed any church with temporalties; it is lawful for them to take away the same temporalties, as it were by way of medicine, for to avoide sin, notwithstanding any excommunication or other ecclesiasticall censure, forsomuch as they are not given but under a condition[9].

"18. An ecclesiasticall minister, and also the bishop of Rome may lawfully be rebuked of his subjects, and for the profit of the church, be accused either of the clergie or of the laity."

These letters with the articles inclosed being thus received from the pope, the bishops tooke no little heart, thinking and fully determining with themselves, and that in open profession before their provinciall councill, that all manner respects of feare or favour set apart, no person neither high nor low should let them, neither would they be seduced by the intreatie of any man, nor by any threatnings or rewards, but that in this cause they would execute most surely upright justice and equitie; yea albeit present danger of life should follow

9 *Under a condition.*] "And as anentis *(concerning)* taking away of temporalities; I say thus, that it is lawful to kings, to princes, to dukes, and to lords of the world, to take away from popes, from cardinals, from bishops, prelates, and possessioners in the church, their temporalties, and their almes, that they have given them *upon condition that they shoulden serve God the better*, when they verily seene that their giving and taking beene contrarie to the law of God, contrarie to Christ's living, and his Apostles." Process against W. Swinderby. Fox, p. 434. See also Kennet's *Case of Impropriations*, p. 114, 115.

there-

thereupon. But these so fierce brags, and stout promises, with the subtill practises of these bishops, which thought them so sure before, the Lord (against whom no determination of mans counsell can prevaile) by a small occasion, did lightly[1] confound and overthrow. For the day of the examination being come, a certaine personage of the princes court, and yet of no great noble birth, named Lewes Clifford, entring in among the bishops, commanded them that they should not proceed with any diffinitive sentence against John Wickliffe. With which words all they were so amazed and their combes so cut, that (as in the storie is mentioned) they became so mute and speechlesse, as men having not one word in their mouthes to answere. And thus by the wondrous worke of God his providence, escaped John Wickliffe the second time out of the bishops hands.

Moreover, here is not to be passed over, how at the same time, and in the said chapell of the archbishop at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting upon John Wickliffe, the storie writing[2] of the doing thereof, addeth these words: I say not onely, that the citizens of London, but also the vile abjects of the citie, presumed to be so bold in the same chapell at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting upon J. Wickliffe, both to entreate for him, and also to let and stop the same matter, trusting, as I suppose, upon the negligence which they saw before in the bishops.

[1] *Did lightly.*] Did *easily* confound. Thus, Whytford's *Pype of Perfection*, fol. 76. "In suche thyngs as the subjects done knowe well ben directely agaynest the rule of theyr profession, shulde they nat *lyghtly* and gladly obey: *lyhtely*, I mean, *without deliberation*; and gladly, for self-pleasure or commoditie." p.

[2] *The stor[illegible]ting.*] Thom. Walsingham, p. 206.

Thus

Thus John Wickliffe, through the favour and diligence of the Londoners, either shifted off the the bishops, or elfe satisfied them so, that for that time he was dismissed and scaped clearly away, onely being charged and commanded by the said bishops, that hee should not teach or preach any such doctrine any more, for the offence of the laie people.

Thus this good man being escaped from the bishops with this charge aforesaid, yet notwithstanding ceased not to proceed in his godly purpose, labouring and profiting still in the church as he had begun.

Unto whom also (as it happeneth by the providence of God) this was also a great helpe and stay, for that in the same yeere, or in the beginning of the next yeare following, the foresaid pope Gregorie xi. which was the stirrer up of al this trouble against him, turned up his heels and died[1]. After whom ensued such a schisme in Rome, betweene two popes, and other succeeding them, one stirring against another, that the schisme thereof endured the space of xxxix. yeares, untill the time of the councell of Constance.

The occasioner of which schisme first was pope Urban the 6. who in the first beginning of his popedome was so proud and insolent to his cardinals, and other, as to dukes, princes, and queenes, and so set to advance his nephew and kindred, with injuries to other princes, that the greatest number of his cardinals and courtiers by little and little shrunke from him, and set up an other French pope against him, named Clement, who reigned xi. yeares. And after him Benedictus the 13. who

[1] *And died.*] Some authorities fix his death to the 27th others to the 28th day of March, A. D. 1378.

reigned

reigned yeares 26. Againe of the contrarie side after Urbanus the sixth, succeeded Boniface the ninth, Innocentius viii, Gregorius the xii, Alexander the fifth, John 13.

As touching this pestilent and most miserable schisme, it would require heere another Iliade to comprehend in order all the circumstances and tragicall parts thereof, what trouble in the whole church, what parts taking in every countrey, what apprehending and imprisoning of priests and prelats, taken by land and sea, what shedding of blood did follow thereof: how Otho duke of Brunswicke and prince of Tarentum, was taken and murthered: how Joan queene of Jerusalem and Sicilia his wife, who before had sent to pope Urban, beside other gifts at his coronation, forty thousand duckets in pure gold, after by the said Urban was committed to prison, and in the same prison strangled: what cardinals were racked, and miserablie without all mercy tormented on giblets to death, what slaughter of men, what battles were fought betweene the two popes, whereof 5000. on the one side were slaine, beside the number of them which were taken prisoners, & of the beheading of five cardinals together after long torments: and how the bishop Aquilonensis, being suspected of pope Urban, for not riding faster with the pope, his horse being not good, was there slaine by the popes commandement, sending his souldiers unto him, to slay him, and cut him in pieces. All which things, with other divers moe acts of horrible cruelty, happening in the time of this abominable schisme, because they are abundantly discoursed at full by Theodoricke Niem *, who was neere to the

* *Theodoricke Niem.*] De schismate inter Urbanum vi. et [illegible]m Antipapam. Norimbergæ, 1592. fol.

said

said pope Urban, and present at all his doings; therefore as a thing needless, I here pretermit, referring them who covet to be certified more amply herein, unto the three bookes of the said Theodoricke above mentioned.

About the same time also, about three yeares after, there fell a cruell dissension in England, betweene the common people and the nobilitie, the which did not a little disturbe and trouble the common wealth. In this tumult Simon of Sudburie archbishop of Canterburie, was taken by the rusticall and rude people, and was beheaded[5]. In whose place after, succeeded William Courtney, which was no lesse diligent then his predecessor had been before him, in doing his diligence to root out hereticks. Notwithstanding, in the mean season Wickliffes sect increased privilie, and daily grew to greater force, until the time that William Barton Vicechancellor of Oxford, about the yeare of our Lord 1380. had the whole rule of that Universitie; who calling together eight monasticall doctors, and four other, with the consent of the rest of his affinitie, putting the common seale of the Universitie unto certaine writings, set forth an edict[6], declaring unto every man, and threatning

[5] *Was beheaded.*] He was beheaded by the rebellious populace under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, June 14, 1381; and the temporalties were delivered to William Courtney, Oct. 25, in the same year. Le Neve's Fasti, p. 7.

[6] *Set forth an edict.*] The value of Wickliffe's labours in the cause of true religion, cannot be better understood than by inspecting this censure which was directed against him. It is confined solely to the controversy on the Eucharist; and declares, in opposition to the assertions of Wickliffe, "that the true faith is, that by the sacramental words duely pronounced by the priest, the bread and wine upon the altar are *transubstantiated*, or substantially converted into the very bod-

threatning them under a grievous penaltie, man should be so hardie, hereafter to themselves with any of Wickliffes faut n· vourers: and unto Wickliffe himselfe her

body and blood of Christ; so that after consecration, there do not remain in that venerable sacrament the material bread and wine, which were there before, according to their own substances or natures, but only the species of the same, under which species the very body of Christ and his blood are really contained, not only figuratively or tropically, but essentially, substantially, and corporally; so that Christ is there verily in his own proper bodily presence." Lewis's History, p. 82. Wilkins's Concilia, vol. iii. p. 170, 171. The Register tells us, that upon public promulgation of this edict in the schools of the Augustin Friars, Wickliffe, who was present, and in the theological chair, was thrown into confusion; but soon recovering himself, he declared, that neither the chancellor, nor any of his friends, could refute by argument the doctrines against which they had pronounced their edict; thus shewing himself an obstinate heretic. His appeal, not to his ordinary or the pope, but to the king's majesty, thereby acknowledging the royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, as well as civil, gave still further very great offence. And the Register does not scruple to brand this deference to the secular power, with the name of heresy. In the same place the duke of Lancaster is commended highly for his desertion of Wickliffe in this extremity; and his attachment to the true faith is extolled, because he commanded him to abstain from intermeddling any more with the doctrine of the sacrament. Wickliffe however did not obey the duke's injunction, but in somewhat more covert terms, maintained his former opinions. He refused the authority of all the fathers after the first thousand years from Christ, affirming that they had all erred in treating of the Eucharist except Beregarius; and set at nought the authority of the master of the sentences. Sudbury's Register in Wilkins, vol. iii. p. 171.

Upon this slight foundation some writers have been pleased to say, that Wickliffe gave way, and made a full retractation. (Anth. a Wood Antiq. Oxon. p. 189.) We see that it was not so understood at Lambeth. The council of Constance also, as we shall find below, passed a very different judgment respecting the final conversion of Wickliffe. Nor does the other opinion

ned the greater excommunication, and further imprisonment, and to all his fautors, unlesse that they after, three daies canonicall admonition or warning, as they call it, peremptory, did repent and amend. The which thing when Wickliffe understood, forsaking the pope and all the clergie, hee thought to appeale unto the kings majestie: but the duke of Lancaster comming betweene, forbad him that hee should not hereafter attempt or begin any such matters, but rather submit himselfe unto the censure and judgement of his ordinarie. Whereby Wickliffe being beset with troubles and vexations, as it were in the midst of the waves, he was forced once againe to make confession of his doctrine: in the which his confession, to avoid the rigor of things, he answered, making his declaration, and qualifying his assertions after such a

opinion accord with what Wood tells us in the same page, that this confession was encountered by no less than six several antagonists, immediately after its publication. Romish writers, when it suits their purpose, continually elevate the meerest trifles into a formal recantation. The popish author of *The Life and Death of Bishop Fisher*, under the assumed name of Thomas Bailey, D. D. does not scruple to speak in the following harsh and vulgar metaphors. The first unclean beast that ever passed through the oxens-ford (I mean Wickcliffe by name) afterwards chewed the cud, and was sufficiently reconciled to the Roman faith, as appears by his recantation; living and dying conformable to the holy catholic church, at his parsonage of Lutterworth in Leicestershire; constantly saying mass unto his dying day. So that reformation, as it seems, was left unto the time of which it is said, *Væ regno cui puer dominatur!* Woe be to the kingdom over which a child reigns! p. 35. ed. 3d. As to the recantation spoken of, it has never yet been exhibited. (Lewis, p. 88.) Nor does the saying mass in the latter part of his life prove any *change* of sentiment, unless it can be shewn, that he had entertained at some earlier period any scruples on that head; which does not appear. Compare what Fox says of Bilney. Acts and monuments, p. 921.

sort, that he did mitigate and asswage the rigor of his enemies.

The next yeare after, which was 1382. by the commandement of William archbishop of Canterturbury, there was a convocation holden at London, where John Wickliffe was also commanded to be present. But whether he there appeared personally, or not, I find it not in story certainely affirmed. The mandate of the archbishop William Courtney (sent abrode for the conventing together of this councell) here followeth under written, truely copied out of his owne registers.

"Memorandum, that whore as well amongst the nobles as commons of this realme of England, there hath a certaine brute bin spread of divers conclusions both erroneous, and also repugnant to the determination of the church, which tend to the subversion of the whole church, and to our province of Canturburie, and also to the subversion of the whole realme, being preached in divers and sundrie places of our said province, generally, commonly, and publikely: We William by Gods permission archbishop of Canturburie, primate of all England, and legat of the see apostolicall, being minded to execute our office and dutie herein; have convocated or called together certain our fellow brethren and others a great many, as well doctors and bachelers of divinitie, as doctors of the canon and civil law, and those whom we thought to bee the most famous men, skillfullest men, and men of soundest judgement in religion, that were in all the realme. And, the 17. day of the moneth of May in the yeare of our Lord 1382. in a certaine chamber within the territories of the prioric of the friers preachers of London before us and our foresaid fellow brethren assembled, then and there personally present; after that the said conclusions (the

(the tenor whereof here under ensueth) were openly proposed, and distinctly and plainely read; Wee burthened our foresaid fellow brethren, doctors, and bachelers, in the faith wherein they stood bound to our Lord Jesus Christ, and as they would answere before the high Judge in the day of judgement, that they should speake their opinions touching the said conclusions, and what every of them thinketh therein."

And at length, after good deliberation had upon the premisses, the foresaid our brethren the bishops, doctors and bachelers, reassembled before us the 21. day of the same moneth in the foresaid chamber, the foresaid conclusions being againe and againe repeated and plainely read: by us and by the common consents of us all it remaineth published and declared, that some of the said conclusions are hereticall, and othersome erroneous and contrarie to the determination of the church, as hereafter most manifestly shall appeare. And for as much as by sufficient information wee find and perceive, that the said conclusions in many places of our said province, have beene, as is said, both taught and preached; and that divers other persons doe hold and maintaine the same, and be of heresie vehemently and notoriouslie suspected: we have thought good as well generally as specially, to send out this processe under written.

The Articles of John Wickliffe, condemned as hereticall.

1. The substance of materiall bread and wine, doth remaine in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration.

2. The accidents, do not remaine without the subject in the same sacrament, after the consecration.

3. That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar truly and really, in his proper and corporall person.

4. That if a bishop [7] or a prieſt be in deadly sin, hee doth not order, consecrate, nor baptise.

5. That if a man be duely and truly contrite and penitent, all exteriour and outer confession, is but superfluous and unprofitable unto him.

6. That it is not found or established by the Gospell, that Christ did make or ordaine masse.

7. If the pope be a reprobate and evill man, and consequently a member of the divell, he hath no power by any maner of meanes given unto him over faithful christians, except peradventure it be given him from the emperor.

8. That since the time of Urban the sixth, there is none to be received for pope, but to live after the maner of the Greekes, every man under his owne law.

[7] *If a bishop.*] "This article either is slanderouslie reported, or else can hardly be defended." Fox in the margin, p. 400. In truth, the article, as might perhaps truly be said of some of the others, was none of Wickliffe's. "Sophisters shulden know well (ſays he) that a cursed man *doth fully* the sacraments, though it be to his damning; for they ben not authours of theſe sacraments, but God kepeth that divinity to himſelf." Lewis's History, p. 96. See also p. 117—119. When a similar article was objected against William Swinderby, a follower of Wickliffe, in the year 1390, he affirmed very explicitly, "Thus I never said, thought it, preached it, ne taught it. For I well wot the wickednesse of a priest may appaire *(impair)* no verie sacrament. But the wickednesse of the priests appaires himselfen; and all that boldnesse and exaumple of his sinne causen the people to liven the worse againſt Goods law." Fox's Acts, p. 432. Compare Article twenty-sixth of the Church of England.

9. To

9. To be against the Scripture, that ecclesiasticall ministers should have any temporall possessions.

The other Articles of John Wickliffe, condemned as erroneous.

10. That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man except he knew him first to be excommunicate of God.

11. That he which doth so excommunicate any man, is thereby himselfe either an heretike or excommunicated.

12. That a prelate or bishop excommunicating any of the clergie, which hath appealed to the king or to the counsell, is thereby himselfe a traitor to the king and realme.

13. That all such which doe leave off preaching or hearing the word of God, or preaching of the Gospell, for feare of excommunication, they are already excommunicated, and in the day of judgement, shall be counted as traitors unto God.

14. That it is lawfull for any man, either deacon or priest, to preach the word of God, without the authoritie or licence of the apostolike see or any other of his catholicks.

15. That so long as a man is in deadly sin, hee is neither bishop nor prelate in the church of God.

16. Also that the temporall lords, may according to their owne will and discretion, take away the temporall goods from the churchmen, whensoever they do offend.

17. That tenths are pure almes, and that parishioners may for the offence of their Curats, detaine and keepe them backe, and bestow them upon others, at their owne will and pleasures.

18. Also,

18. Also, that all speciall praiers applied to any private or particular person, by any prelate, or religious man, doe no more profit the same person, than generall or universall praiers doe profit others, which be in like case or state unto him.

19. Moreover, in that any man doth enter into any private religion, whatsoever it be, hee is thereby made the more unapt and unable to observe and keepe the commandements of God.

20. That holy men which have instituted private religions, whatsoever they be (as well such as are indued and possessed, as also the order of begging friers, having no possessions) in so doing, have grievouslie offended.

21. That religious men, being in their privat religions are not of the christian religion.

22. That friers are bounded to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.

23. That whosoever doth give any almes unto friers, or to any begging observant, is accursed or in danger thereof."

The Letter of the Archbishop directed to the Bishop of London, against Wickliffe, and his Adherents.

"William by Gods permission archbishop of Canterburie, Metropolitane of all England, and of the apostolicall see legate: To our reverend brother by the grace of God bishop of London, salutation. The prelats of the church ought to bee so much the more vigilant and attentive about the charge of the Lords flocke committed unto them, how much the more they shall understand the wolves being clothed in sheeps apparell, fraudulently to go about to worry and scatter the sheepe. Truely

. Truely by the continuall crie and bruted fame (which it grieveth me to report) it is come to our knowledge, that although by the canonicall sanctions no man being forbidden or not admitted, should either publikely or privilie without the authority of the apostolicall see or bishop of that place, usurpe or take upon him the office of a preacher; some notwithstanding such as are the children of damnation, being under the vaile of blind ignorance, are brought into such a doting mind, that they take upon them to preach, and are not affraid to affirme and teach divers and sundrie propositions and conclusions here under recited, both heretical, erroneous and false, condemned by the church of God, and repugnant to the decree of holy church, which tend to the subverting of the whole state of the same, of our province of Canturburie, and destruction and weakening of the tranquillity of the same: and as well in the churches, as in the streets, as also in many other prophane places of our said province, generally, commonly, and publikely, do preach the same, infecting very many good christians, causing them lamentablie to wander out of the way, and from the catholike church without which there is no salvation. Wee therefore considering, that so pernicious a mischiefe which may creepe amongst many, we ought not to suffer, and by dissimulation to pass over, which may with deadly contagion slay the soules of men, lest their blood be required at our hands; are willing so much as God will permit us to doe, to extirpate the same. Wherefore, by the counsell and consent of many of our brethren and suffragans, wee have convented divers and sundrie doctors of divinitie, as also professors and other clerks of the canon and civill lawes, the best learned within the realme, and of the most soundest opinion

opinion and judgement in the catholike faith, to give their opinions and judgements concerning the foresaid conclusions. But forasmuch as the said conclusions and assertions being in the presence of us, and our fellow brethren and other convocates, openly expounded, and diligently examined, and in the end found by common counsell and consent, as well of them as of us, and so declared, that some of those conclusions were hereticall, and some of them erroneous, and repugnant to the determination of the church, as here under are described: Wee will and command your brotherhood, and by vertue of holy obedience straitly enjoyne all and singuler our brethren, and suffraganes of our church of Canturburie, that with all speedie diligence you possiblie can, you likewise enjoyne them (as we have enjoyned you) and everie of them. And that every one of them in their churches and other places of their citie and diocesse, doe admonish and warne, and that you in your church and other churches of your citie and dioces, do admonish and warne, as we by the tenour of these presents do admonish and warne the first time, the second time and the third time; and yet more straitely doe warne, assigning for the first admonition one day, for the second admonition another day, and for the third admonition canonical and peremptory, another day: That no man from henceforth of what estate or condition soever, doe hold, preach, or defend the foresaid heresies and errours or any of them; nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited or not sent to preach, nor that he heare or hearken to the heresies or errors of him or any of them, or that he favour or leane unto him either publikely or privily; but that immediately he shun him as he would avoid a serpent putting forth most pestiferous

ous poison, under paine of the greater curse[8]; the which wee command to be thundered against all and every one which shall be disobedient in this behalfe,

[8] *The greater curse.*] It was in allusion to these proceedings of the archbishop, that Wickliffe, in his Treatise against the orders of Friars, p. 53, A. D. 1608, says, "They techen al this people to recke lesse of the most rightfull curse of God, then by the wrong curse of sinful man. For they callen the curse of God *the lesse curse*, and the curse of sinful man *the more curse*. For though a man be never so cursed of God for pride, envie, covetise, or avowtrie, or any other, this is not charged ne pursued, nether of prelate, ne lord, ne commons. But if a man withstand ones the citation of a sinful prelate, yea after the commandement of God, then he shall be cursed and prisoned after fortie daies, and al men shullen goe upon him, though the man be pursued for truth of the gospel, and be blessed of God." In what follows, we have a description of the *greater* and *lesser* curse, taken from a Treatise of the Articles of the General greater Curse or Sentence, found in a church at Canterbury, A. D. 1562. "Ye shullen understand that this word curse is thus much to say, as departing *(cutting off)* fro God, and al good workes. Of two manner of cursing holy church telleth; the one is cleped the lesse curs; the other is cleped the more curs. That we clepen the *lesse curs*, is of this strength; that every man and woman that falleth therein, it departeth him froe al the sacramentes, that bene in holy church, that they may none of hem receive, till they be assoylled. For right as a sword departeth the head, or the life from the body; right so as to say, ghostly curse departeth mans soul fro God, and fro al good workes. The *more curs* is muche worse, and is of this strength, for to depart a man froe God, and froe al holy church, and also froe the company of al christen folke, never to be saved by the passion of Christ, ne to be holpen by the sacramentes that ben done in holy church, ne to have part with any christen man." Becon's *Reliques of Rome*. Works. vol. iii. fol. 378. b. Reference is made to these same mandates and anathemas of the church in the Ploughman's Tale in Chaucer's works. p. 167. edit. 1687.

> "Who giveth you leave for to preach?—
> Thou shalt be curst with *booke* and *bell*,
> And discevered from holy church."

We

behalfe, and not regarding these our monitions, after that those three daies be past which are assigned for the canonicall monition, and that their delay, fault

We shall hear so much of these curses and excommunications, that it may not be amiss, once for all, to produce an exemplification of their ordinary process.

"At last, the priests found out a toy, to curse him whatsoever he were, *with booke, bell, and candle*; which curse at that day seemed most fearefull and terrible. The manner of the curse was after this sort:

"One of the priests, apparalled all in white, ascended up into the pulpit. The other rabblement with certaine of the two orders of friers, and certaine superstitious monkes of Saint Nicholas house, standing round about, and the crosse (as the custom was) being holden up with holy candles of waxe fixed to the same, he began his sermon with this theme of Joshua: *Est blasphemia in castris: There is blasphemie in the army;* and so made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and superstitious, and so concludes that that foule and abominable heretieke which had put up suche blasphemous bils, was for that his blasphemie damnablie accursed; and besought God, our Lady, Sainte Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy companie of martyrs, confessours, and virgins, that it might be known what heretieke had put up such blasphemous bils, that Gods people might avoide the vengeance.

"The maner of the cursing of the said Benet was marvellous to behold; forasmuch as at that time there were few or none, unless a shireman or two (whose houses I well remember were searched for bils at that time, and for bookes) that knew any thing of Gods matters, or how God doth blesse their curses in such cases. Then said the prelate, "By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of Saint Peter and Paul, and of the holy saints, wee excommunicate, we utterly curse and banne, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she bee, that have in spite of God and of Saint Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saintes, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, Gods vicar here in earth, and in spite of the reverende father in God John our diocesane, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests and clerkes which serve God daily in this cathedral church, fixed

fault or offence committed: That then according to the tenour of these writings, we command both by every one of our fellow brethren and our suffragans

fixed up with waxe, such cursed and heretical bils full of blasphemie, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. Excommunicate plainly be hee or shee, or they, and delivered over to the devil as perpetual malefactors, and schismatickes. Accursed might they be and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he or shee, in cities and townes, in fields, in waies, in pathes, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they doe besides. We separate them, him or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the church, from the participation of the holy masse, from all sacramentes, chapels, and altars, from holy bread, and holy water, from all the merits of Gods priests and religious men, and from all their cloisters, from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them: and wee give them over utterly to the power of the fiend, and let us quench their soules (if they bee dead) this night in the paines of hell fire, as this canole is now quenched, and put out (and with that hee put out one of the candles); and let us praie to God (if they be alive) that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is, (so he put out the other candle) and let us praie to God, and to our Lady, and to Saint Peter and Paul, and all holy saintes that all the senses of their bodies may faile them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone (and so hee put out the third candle), except they, hee, or shee, come openly nowe and confesse their blasphemie, and by repentance (as in them shall lie), make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, Saint Peter, and the worshipfull company of this cathedral church; and as this holy crosse staffe now falleth downe, so mighte they except they repent, and shew themselves; and one first taking awaye the crosse, the staffe fell downe. But Lord what a shout and noise was there, what terrible feare, what holding up of handes to heaven; that curse was so terrible!" Fox's Acts, p. 947. This account speaks only of quenching, the *candles*, and does not tell what was done with the *bells*, and the *book*. The deficiency may be supplied by the following extract: "After the imprecations were over, the priest (according to some forms)

gans in their cities and dioces, and by you in your city and diocesse (so much as belongeth both to you and them) that to the uttermost, both yee and they cause the same excommunications to be pronounced. And furthermore, wee will and command our foresaid fellow brethren, and all and singuler of you apart by your selves, to bee admonished, and by the aspersion of the blood of Jesus Christ we likewise admonish you, that according to the institution of the sacred canons, every one of them in their cities and dioces, be a diligent inquisitor of this hereticall pravitie; and that every one of you also in your cities and dioces, bee the like inquisitor of the foresaid hereticall pravitie: And that of such like presumptions they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to your duties and office in this behalfe) with effect do proceed against the same, to the honour and praise of his name that was crucified, and for the preservation of the christian faith and religion." May 30, 1382.

Here is not to be passed over, the greate miracle of Gods divine admonition or warning; for when as the archbishop and suffragans, with the other doctors of divinitie, and lawyers with a great companie of babling friers, and religious persons were gathered together to consult, as touching John Wickliffes books, and that whole sect: When as they were gathered together at the Grey Friers in London, to begin their businesse, upon saint Dun-

forms) subjoined these words: *Fiat: Fiat: Doe to the boke: Quench the Candles: Ring the Bell. Amen. Amen.*—And then the book is clapped together; the candles blown out; and the bells rung, with a most dreadful noise made by the congregation present, bewailing the accursed persons concerned in that black doom denounced against them." Staveley's *History of Churches in England.* P. 237, 238.

stan's

stan's day after dinner, about two of the clocke, the very houre and instant that they should go forward with their businesse, a wonderfull and terrible earthquake fell throughout all England: whereupon divers of the suffragans being feared, by the strange and wonderful demonstration, doubting what it should meane, thought it good to leave off from their determinate purpose. But the archbishop (as chiefe captaine of that armie, more rash and bold then wise) interpreting the chance which had happened, cleane contrarie, to another meaning or purpose, did confirme and strengthen their hearts and minds, which were almost daunted with feare, stoutly to proceede and goe forward in their attempted enterprise. Who then discoursing Wickcliffes articles, not according unto the sacred canons of the holy Scripture, but unto their owne private affections and traditions, pronounced and gave sentence, that some of them were simplie and plainely hereticall, othersome halfe erroneous, other irreligious, some seditious, and not consonant to the church of Rome.

The archbishop yet not contented with this, doth moreover by all meanes possible, sollicite the king to joine withall the power of his temporall sword, for that he well perceived, that hitherto as yet the popish clergie had not authoritie sufficient by anie law or statute of this land to proceed unto death against any person whatsoever, in case of religion, but onely by the usurped tyranny and example of the court of Rome. Where note (gentle reader) for thy better understanding, the practice of the Romish prelats in seeking the kings helpe to further their bloudie purpose against the good saints of God. Which king being but young, and under yeers of ripe judgement, partly induced, or rather seduced by importune sute of the foresaid archbishop,

shop, partly also either for feare of the bishops (for kings cannot alwaies doe in their realmes what they will) or else perhaps inticed by some hope of subsidie to be gathered by the clergy, was content to adjoine his private assent (such as it was) to the setting downe of an ordinance, which was indeed the very first law that is to be found made against religion and the professours thereof, bearing the name of an act made in the parliament holden at Westminster, anno 5. Rich. 2. Where among sundry other statutes then published, and yet remaining in the printed books of statutes, this supposed statute is to be found, cap. 5, & ultimo, as followeth.

"Item forsomuch as it is openly knowne that there be divers evill persons within the realme, going from countie to countie, and from towne to towne, in certaine habits under dissimulation of great holinesse, and without the licence of the ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient authoritie, preaching daily not onely in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, faires, and other open places where a great congregation of people is, divers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the great emblemishing of christian faith, and destruction of the lawes, and of the estate of holy church, to the great perill of the soules of the people, and of all the realme of England, as more plainly is found and sufficiently proved before the reverend father in God the archbishop of Canturbury, and the bishops and other prelats, masters of divinitie, and doctors of canon and of civill law, and a great part of the clergy of the said realme, specially assembled for this great cause; which persons doe also preach divers matters of slander, to ingender discord and dissension betwixt divers estates of the said realme, as well spirituall as temporall,

porall, in exciting of the people to the great perill of all the realme: which preachers cited or summoned before the ordinaries of the places there to answer to that whereof they be impeached, they will not obey to their summons and commandements, nor care not for their monitions nor censures of the holy church, but expressly despise them. And morever, by their subtile and ingenious words, doe draw the people to heare their sermons, and doe maintaine them in their errors by strong hand, and by great routs: It is ordained and assented in this present parliament, that the king's commissions be made and directed to the Shiriffes and other ministers of our soveraigne lord the king, or other sufficient persons learned, and according to the certifications of the prelats thereof, to be made in the chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and also their fautors, maintainers, and abetters, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will justifie them according to the law and reason of holy church. And the king willeth and commandeth, that the chancellor make such commissions at all times, that he by the prelats or any of them shall bee certified and thereof required, as is aforesaid."

What manner of law this was, by whom devised, and by what authority the same was first made and established, judge by that that followeth: viz.

In the Utas [9] of S. Michael, next following at a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, the sixth yeere of the said king, among sundry petitions made to the king by his commons, whereunto he assented, there is one in this forme, article 52.

9 *In the Utas.*] The utas or octaves is the eighth day following any term or feast. Any day in the interval between the feast and the eighth day is said to be within the utas.

Item,

"Item, prayen the commons, that whereas an estatute was made the last parliament in these words: It is ordained in this present parliament, that commissions from the king be directed to the ſhiriffes and other ministers of the king, or to other sufficient persons skilfull, and according to the certificats of the prelats thereof to be made unto the chancery from time to time to arrest all such preachers, and their fauters, maintainers, and abetters; and them to detaine in strong prison, untill they will justifie themselves according to reason, and law of holy church; and the king willeth and commandeth, that the chancellor make such commissions at all times, as shall be by the prelats or any of them certified, and thereof required, as is aforesaid; the which was never agreed nor granted by the commons; but whatsoever was moved therein, was without their assent: that the said statute be therefore disannulled. For it is not in any wise their meaning, that either themselves, or such as shall succeed them, shall be further justified or bound by the prelats, then were their ancestors informer times;" whereunto is answered, "il plaist a Roy, the king is pleased."

Hereby notwithstanding the former unjust law of ann. 5. was repealed, and the fraud of the framers thereof sufficiently discovered: yet such meanes was there made by the prelats, that this act of repeale was never publiſhed, nor ever sithence imprinted with the rest of the statutes of that parliament. Insomuch as the said repeale being concealed, like commissions and other processe were made from time to time, by vertue of the bastard statute, as well during all the raigne of this king, as ever sithence against the professors of religion. And now the king writeth his letters

letters patents, to the vicechancellor of Oxford in forme as followeth.

"The king: To the chancellor and the procurators of the Universitie of Oxford which now be, or for the time being shall bee, greeting. Moved by the zeale of christian faith, whereof wee be, and alwaies will be defenders, and for our soules health induced thereunto, having a great desire to represse, and by condigne punishment to restraine the impugners of the foresaid faith, which newly and wickedly goe about and presume to sow their naughty and perverse doctrine, within our kingdome of England, and to preach and hold damnable conclusions, so notoriously repugnant and contrary to the same faith, to the perverting of our subjects and people, as we understand. Before they any further proceed in their malicious errors, or else infect others: We have by these presents appointed you to bee inquisitor generall (all the chiefe divines of the said Universitie being your assistants) and the same likewise to be done of al and singuler the graduats, divines and lawyers of the same University. And if they shall know any which be of the jurisdiction of the said Universitie of Oxford, which be probably of them suspected to be in the favour, beleefe, or defence of any heresie or error, and specially of any of the conclusions publikely condemned by the reverend father, William, archbishop of Canturbury, by the councel of his clergie, or els of any other conclusion like unto any of them in meaning, or in words: and that if henceforth you shall find any that shall beleeve, favour, or defend any of the foresaid heresies or errors, or any other such like, or else which shall be so bold to receive into their houses and innes, master John Wickliffe, M. Nicolas Herford, M.

Philip Reppindon, or M. John Ashton, or any other noted by probable suspition of any the foresaid heresies or errors, or any other like unto them in meaning, or in word: or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or else to defend or favour any of such favorers, receivers, communicants and defenders, within seven daies after the same shall appeare and be manifest unto you, to banish and expell them from the Universitie and towne of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their innocence before the archbishop of Canturburie for the time being, by manifest purgation; so notwithstanding, that such as be compelled to purge themselves, you certify us and the said archbishop under your seales, from time to time within one moneth that they be such maner of men. Commanding furthermore, that through all the halles of the said Universitie, ye cause diligentlie to be searched and inquired out of hand: If anie man have anie book or tractation of the edition or compiling of the foresaid master John Wickliffe, or Nicolas Herford: and that when and wheresoever ye shall chance to find any such booke or tractation, yee cause the same to be arrested and taken, and unto the foresaid archbishop within one moneth (without correction, corruption, or mutation whatsoever) word for word, and sentence for sentence, to be brought and presented. And therefore wee straitly enjoyne and command you, upon your fidelitie and allegeance wherein ye stand bound unto us, and upon paine of forfeiture of al and singular your liberties and priviledges of your said Universitie, and of all that ever you have besides: that you give your diligent attendance upon the premisses, and that well and faithfully you execute the same in manner and forme aforesaid. And that you obey the foresaid archbishop, and his lawfull

lawfull and honest mandates, that he shall thinke good to direct unto you in this behalfe, as it is meete ye should. And we give in charge unto the vicechancellor and maior of Oxford for the time being, and to all and singuler our sheriffes, undersheriffes, bailiffes, and subjects, by these presents; that they aid, obey, and bee attendant upon you in the execution of the premisses. In witnesse whereof, &c. Witnesse the king at Westminster, the 13th day of July, the sixth yeere of his raigne." (A. D. 1382.)

The vicechancellor the same time in Oxford was master Robert Rigges. The two proctors were John Huntman and Walter Dish, who then as far as they durst, favored the cause of John Wickliffe and that side. Insomuch, that the same time and yeere, which was an. 1382. when certaine publike sermons should be appointed customablie at the feast of the Ascension, and of Corpus Christi, to be preached in the cloyster of S. Frideswide (now called Christs church) before the people, by the vicechancellor aforesaid and the proctors, the doings thereof the vicechancellor aforesaid, and proctors had committed to Philip Repington and Nicolas Herford, so that Nicolas Herford should preach on the Ascension day, and Repington upon Corpus Christi day. First Herford beginning was noted to defend John Wickliffe, openly to be a faithfull, good and innocent man: for the which no small ado with outeries was among the friers. After this the feast of Corpus Christi drew neere, upon which day it was looked for that Repington should preach.

This man was a canon of Leicester, and had before taken his first degree unto doctorship: who preaching the same time at Brodgates, for the

same sermon he became first suspected, and hated of the Pharisaicall broode of the friers. But through the great and notable dexteritie of his wit, (which all men did behold and see in him) accompanied with like modestie and honestie; he did so overcome, or at the least asswage this crueltie and persecution which was towards him, that shortly after by the consent of the whole fellowship, hee was admitted doctor. Who as soone as he had taken it upon him, by and by hee stepped forth in the schooles, and began immediately to shew forth and utter, that which hee had long hidden and dissembled.

Now the day of Corpus Christi aforesaid approching neere, when the friers understood that this man should preach shortly, fearing lest that hee would rub the galles of their religion, they convented with the archbishop of Canturbury, that the same day a little before that Philip should preach, Wickliffe's conclusions which were privatly condemned, should be openly defamed in the presence of the whole Universitie. The doing of which matter was committed to Peter Stokes frier, standerd-bearer and chiefe champion of that side against Wickliffe. There were also letters sent unto the commissarie, that he should helpe and aide him in publishing of the same conclusions.

These things thus done and finished, Repington at the houre appointed proceeded to his sermon. In the which sermon among many other things, he was reported to have uttered these sayings, or to this effect.

That the popes or bishops ought not to be recommended [1] above temporall lords.

Also

[1] *Ought not to be recommended.*] Ought not to be *commended*, that is, *in prayer*: according to what follows below, p. 70; "minding

Also that in morall matters he would defend master Wickliffe as a true catholike doctor.

Moreover, that the duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all such should be received under his protection: besides many things mo which touched the praise and defence of Wickcliffe.

And finallie, in concluding his sermon, he dimissed the people with this sentence: I will (said hee) in the speculative doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the sacrament of the altar, keepe silence and hold my peace, untill such time as God otherwise shall instruct and illuminate the hearts of the clergy.

When the sermon was done, Repington entred into S. Frideswides church, accompanied with many of his friends; who, as the enemies surmised, were privilie weaponed under their garments, if need had been. Trier Stokes the Carmelite aforesaid, suspecting all this to be against him, and being afraid of hurt, kept himself within the sanctuarie of the church, not daring as then to put out his head. The vicechancellor and Repington, friendly saluting one another in the church porch, sent away the people, and so departed every man home to his owne house. There was not a little joy through the whole Universitie for that sermon: but in the meane time, the unquiet and busie Carmelite, slipt not his matter. For first by his letters hee declared the whole order of the matter unto the archbishoppe, exaggerating the perils and dangers that he was in, requiring and desiring his helpe and aid, pretermitting nothing,

in, there to prove, that the pope and the bishops ought to be *prayed for* before the lords temporall." With Repington's Reserve on the Doctrine of the Eucharist, compare the process against Swinderby. Fox, p. 432.

whereby

whereby to move and stirre up the archbishops minde, which of his owne nature was as hot as a toste, as they say, and ready enough to prosecute the matter of his owne accord, though no man had prickt him forward thereunto. Besides all this (three daies after) with a fierce and bold courage, the said frier breathing out threatnings and heresies against them, took the way unto the schooles, minding there to prove, that the pope and the bishops ought to be praied for before the lords temporall. Whiles this frier was thus occupied in the schooles, he was mocked and derided of all men, and shortly after hee was sent for by the archbishop to London: whom immediately after, the vicechancellor and Brightwell [2] followed up, to purge and cleere themselves and their adherents from the accusations of this frier Peter. At the length they being examined upon Wickliffes' conclusions that were condemned; they did all consent, that they were worthily condemned.

Then began the hatred on either part somewhat to appeare and shew, and specially all men were offended, and in the tops of these friers and religious men, upon whom whatsoever trouble or mischief was raised up, they did impute it as to the authors and causers of the same. Amongst whom there was one Henry Crompe, a monke Cistertian, a well learned divine, which afterward was accused by the bishops of heresie. Hee at that time was openly suspended by the commissary, because in his lectures he called the heretikes Lollards [3], from his

[2] *And Brightwell.*] Fox, p. 401, 402.

[3] *Called the Hereticks Lollards.*] "Our canonist Lynwood tells us, that this name was derived from the Latin *lolium*, which signifies *cockle*; because as that weed is a great damage to the wheat (*infelix lolium* Georgic.) among which it grows;

so

his acts (as they terme them) in the schoole. Then he comming by and by up to London, made his complaint unto the archbishop and to the kings counsell.

Whereupon he obtaining the letters of the king, and of his counsell, by the vertue thereof (returning againe to the universitie) was released and restored againe to his former state: the words of which letter here followeth under written.

The Copy of the Kings Letter.

"The king to the vicechancelour and procurators of the Universitie of Oxford, greeting. Whereas we of late understanding by the grievous complaint of Henry Crompe, monke, and regent in divinitie within the said University, how that he, being assisted by the reverend father in God the archbishop of Canterbury, and by other clerks and divines in the citie of London, to proceed in the condemnation of certaine conclusions erroneous and hereticall, hath been therefore molested by you: and that you through sinister suggestions of some adversaries (pretending the peace of the said University, to have been broken by the said Henry

so the lollards, their enemies said, corrupted and spoiled the well-meaning faithful among whom they were conversant. To this derivation of the word or name, our poet Chaucer alludes in the following words:

"This Loller here woll preche us somewhat,
He wolde sowin some difficulte,
Or spring (*sprinkle*) in some cokkle in our clene corne."
Squire's Prologue.

Others derive the name from one Walter Lollard, a German (Beausobre Dissertat. sur Adamites, &c.). Others again from Lullard or Lollards, the praises of God, a sect so named, which was dispersed through Brabant. Pieteti Oratio, p. 29. Lewis's Life of Bishop Pecock, p. 10.

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in his last lecture,) did therefore call him before you to appeare and answere; and for his not appearing, did therefore pronounce him as obstinat, and convict of peace-breaking; and also have suspended the said Henrie from his lectures, and all scholasticall acts. And whereas we by our writ, did call you up for the same, to appeare and answere before our counsell unto the premisses; so that all things being well tried and examined by the said counsell, it was found and determined, that all your processe against the said Henry, was void and of none effect, and commandement given, that the said Henry should be restored and admitted againe to his former lectures and scholasticall acts, and to his pristine state, as you know. To the intent therefore that this decree aforesaid should be more duly executed of your part, we here by these presents straitly charge and command you, that you speedily revoke againe all your processe against the said Henry in the Universitie aforesaid, with all other that followed thereof, doe admit and cause to be restored againe the said Henry to his scholasticall acts, his accustomed lectures and pristine estate, without all delay, according to the forme of the decree and determination aforesaid. Enjoining you moreover, and your commissaries or deputies, and your successors, and all other masters, regent and not regent, and other presidents, officers, ministers, and schollers of the Universitie aforesaid, upon your faith and allegiance you owe to us, that you doe not impeach, molest or grieve, or cause to be grieved any manner of way, privie or apert, the said frier Henry for the causes premised, or frier Peter Stokes Carmelite, for the occasion of his absence from the University, or frier Stephan Packington Carmelite, or any other religious or secular person favouring

favouring them, upon the occasion of any either word or deed whatsoever, concerning the doctrine of master John Wickliffe, Nicolas Herford, and Phillip Reppington, or the reproofe and condemnation of their heresies and errors, or the correction of their favourers, but that you doe procure the peace, unity, and quiet, within the said University, and chiefly betweene the religious and secular persons: and that you with all diligence nourish, increase, and preserve the same to the uttermost of your strength. And that you in no case omit to doe it accordingly, upon the forfaitures of all and singuler the liberties and priviledges of the University aforesaid. Witnesse my selfe at Westminster the 14th of July." (A. D. 1382.)

Mention was made, as you heard a little before, how master Rigges vicechancellor of Oxford, comming up with master Brightwel to the archbishop of Canturbury, was there straitly examined of the conclusions of Wickliffe, where hee notwithstanding, through the help of the bishop of Winchester, obtained pardon, and was sent away againe with commandements and charges, to seek out all the favourers of John Wickcliffe. This commandement being received, Nicolas Herford, and Philip Reppington (being privily warned by the said vicechancellor) in the meane season conveied them out of sight, and fled to the duke of Lancaster for succor and helpe: but the duke, whether for fear, or what cause else I cannot say, in the end forsooke his poore and miserable clients.

In the mean time, while they were fled thus to the duke, great search and inquisition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them whereso-

ever

ever they might be found. Whereupon the archbishop of Canturbury William Courtney, directed out his letters first to the vicechancellor of Oxford, then to the bishop of London named Robert Braybroke, charging them not onely to excommunicate the said Nicolas and Philip within their jurisdiction, and the said excommunication to be denounced likewise throughout all the diocesse of his suffragans: but also moreover, that diligent search and watch should be laid for them, both in Oxford and in London, that they might bee apprehended: requiring moreover, by them to be certified againe, what they had done in the premisses. And this was written the fourteenth day of July, anno 1382.

Unto these letters received from the archbishop, diligent certificat was given accordingly, as well of the bishop of London on his part, as also of the vicechancellor, the tenor whereof was this.

The Letter certificatorie of the Vicechancellor to the Archbishop.

"To the reverend father in Christ, lord William, archbishop of Canturbury, primat of all England, and legat of the apostolike sea: Robert Rigges, professor of divinity, and vicechancellor of the University of Oxford, greeting with due honour. Your letters bearing the date of the 14th of July I have received: by the authority whereof I have denounced, and caused to be denounced effectually, the foresaid Nicolas and Philip, to have bin, and to be excommunicat publikely and solemnly in the church of S. Mary, and in the schooles, and to be cited also personally, if by any meanes they might be apprehended, according as you commanded. But after diligent search laid

for

for them of my part, to have them personally cited and apprehended, I could not finde neither the said master Nicolas, nor master Philip; who have hid or conveied themselves, unknowne to me. Whereof I thought here to give signification to your fatherhood. Sealed and testified with the seale of mine office." From Oxford the 25th of July.

In the meane time, Nicolas Herford and Reppington being repulsed of the duke, and destitute (as was said) of his supportation, whether they were sent, or of their owne accord went to the archbishop, it was uncertaine. This I finde in a letter of the foresaid archbishop, contained in his register, that Reppington the 23d day of October the same yeere 1382, was reconciled againe to the archbishop, and also by his generall letter was released, and admitted to his scholasticall acts in the Universitie. And so was also John Ashton; of whom (Christ willing) more shall follow hereafter. Of Nicolas Herford all this while I finde no speciall relation.

In the mean time, about the twenty-third of the month of September the said yeere, the king sent his mandate to the archbishop for collecting of a subsidie, and to have a convocation of the clergy summoned, against the next parliament, which should begin the eighteenth day of November. The archbishop likewise on the fifteenth day of October, directed his letters monitory (as the maner is) to Robert Braybroke bishop of London, to give the same admonition to all his suffragans, and other of the clergy within his province for the assembling of the convocation aforesaid. All which done and executed, the parliament beganne, being holden at Oxford the eighteenth day of November, where the convocation was kept in the monastery

monastery of Frideswide in Oxford. In the which convocation, the archbishop, with other bishops there sitting in their pontificalibus, declared two causes of that their present assembly, whereby (saith he) to represse heresies, which beganne newly in the realme to spring, and for correcting other excesses in the church. The other cause (said he) was to aid and support the king with some necessary subsidie of money to be gathered; which thus declared, the convocation was continued till the day following, which was the 19th of November.

At the said day and place, the archbishop, with the other prelats, assembling themselves as before; the archbishop after the used solemnitie, willed the procurators of the clergie, appointed for every diocesse, to consult within themselves, in some convenient several place, what they thought for their parts touching the redresse of things, to bee notified and declared to him and to his brethren, &c.

Furthermore, forsomuch (saith he) as it is so noysed through all the realme, that there were certaine in the Universitie of Oxford, which did hold and maintaine conclusions (as he calleth them) heretical and erroneous condemned by him,* and by other lawyers and doctors of divinitie: he therefore assigned the bishops of Sarum, Hereford and Rochester, with William Rugge then vicechancellor of the Universitie of Oxford (for belike Robert Rigge was then displaced) as also William Berton, and John Middleton doctors; giving them his full authoritie with cursing and banning[+], to search and

[+] *With cursing and banning.*] A bann (so *banns* of marriage) denotes any public proclamation or edict. To bann, in like manner, is to *proclaim generally*; more *particularly* in a *bad sense*, to proscribe, to excommunicate, to *banish*.

to

to enquire with all diligence and waies possible, over all and singuler whatsoever, either doctors, batchelors, or scholars of the said Universitie, which did hold, teach, maintaine, and defend, in schooles or out of schooles, the said conclusions hereticall (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterwards to give certificate truely and plainely touching the premisses. And thus for that day the assemblie brake up to the next, and so to the next, and the third, being Monday, the 24th day of November. (Ex Regist. W. Courtney.)

On the which day, in the presence of the prelats and the clergie in the chapter house of S. Frideswide, came in Philip Repington (otherwise called of the brethren afterward Hampington) who there abjured the conclusions and assertions aforesaid, in this forme of words as followeth.

"In Dei nomine, Amen, I Philip Repington, canon of the house of Leicester, acknowledging one catholike and apostolike faith, do curse and also abjure all heresie, namely these heresies and errors under written, condemned and reproved by the decrees canonicall, and by you most reverend father, touching which hitherto I have beene diffamed; condemning moreover and reproving both them and the authors of them, and do confesse the same to bee catholically condemned: and I sweare also by these holy Evangelists, which here I hold in my hand, and doe promise, never by any perswasions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true, any of the said conclusions under written: but doe and will stand and adhere in all things, to the determination of the holy catholike church, and to yours, in this behalfe. Over and besides, all such as stand contrarie to this faith, I do pronounce them with their doc-

trine

trine and followers worthie of everlasting curse. And if I my selfe shall presume at any time to hold or preach any thing contrarie to the premisses, I shall be content to abide the severitie of the canons. Subscribed with mine owne hand, and with mine owne accord, Philip Repington." And thus the said Rampington was discharged, who afterward was made bishop of Lincolne, and became at length the most bitter and extreme persecutor of this side, of all the other bishops within the realme, as in processe hereafter may appeare.

After the abjuration of this Repington, immediately was brought in John Ashton, student of divinitie; who being examined of those conclusions, and willed to say his mind, answered: that he was too simple and ignorant; and therefore would not, and could not answer any thing cleerely or distinctly to those conclusions. Whereupon the archbishop assigned to him doctor W. Rugge the vicechancellor, and other divines, such as he required himselfe, to be instructed in the mysterie of those conclusions against the after noone: who then appearing againe after dinner before the archbishop and the prelats, did in like sort and forme of words abjure as did Repington before.

Of this John Ashton we read, that afterward by Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canturburie, hee was cited and condemned; but whether he died in prison, or was burned, we have yet no certainetie to shew. This is certaine by the plaine words of the Chronicle of saint Albans, that when the archbishop, with his doctors and friers sat in examination upon this John Ashton in London, the Londoners brake open the doore of the conclave, and did let the archbishop himselfe sitting in the citie of London, when he would have made processe against

against J. Ashton, an. 1382. And thus much of J. Ashton.

As touching Nicolas Herford, during the time of this convocation, he did not appeare: and therefore had the sentence of excommunication. Against which he put his appeale from the archbishop to the king and his counsell. The archbishop would not admit it, but finding staies and stops caused him to bee apprehended and inclosed in prison. Notwithstanding through the will of God, and good meanes he escaped out of the prison, returning againe to his former exercise, and preaching as hee did before, albeit in as covert and secret maner as hee could. Whereupon the archbishop thundring out his bolts of excommunication against him, sendeth to all pastors and ministers, willing them in all churches, and all festivall daies, to divulge the said his excommunication against him, to all men: He writeth moreover and sendeth speciall charge to all and singuler of the laitie, to beware that their simplicitie be not deceived by his doctrine, but that they like catholike children will avoide him, and cause him of all other to be avoided.

Furthermore, not contented with this, he addresseth also his letter unto the king, requiring also the aide of his temporall sword to chop off his necke, whom he had alreadie cast downe. See and note reader, the seraphicall charitie of these priestly prelats towards the poore redeemed flocke of Christ! And yet these be they which washing their hands with Pilate, say and pretend: Nobis non licet interficere quenquam: It is not our parts to kill any man. The copie of the letter written to the king is this.

The

The Letter of the Archbishop to the King.

"To the most excellent prince in Christ, &c. William, &c. greeting in him by whom kings doe reigne, and princes beare rule. Unto your kingly celsitude by the tenour of these presents we intimate, that one master Nicolas Herford doctor of Divinitie, for his manifest contumacie and offence in not appearing before us being called at the day and place assigned, therefore is inwrapped in the sentence of the greater curse, publikelie by our ordinarie authoritie. And in the same sentence hath continued now fortie daies, and yet still continueth with indurate heart, wickedly contemning the keyes of the church, to the great perill both of his soule, and to the pernicious example of other. Forsomuch therefore, as the holy mother the church hath not to doe or to procede any further in this matter; we humblie desire your kingly majestie, to direct out your letters for the apprehending of the said excommunicate according to the custome of this realme of England, wholesomelie observed and kept hitherto: to the intent, that such whom the feare of God doth not restraine from evill, the discipline of the secular arme may bridle and plucke backe from offending. Your princely celsitude the Lord long continue. From Lambeth the 15. of Januarie."

To this letter of the archbishop, might not the king (gentle reader) thus answere againe, and answere well:

"Your letters with your complaint and requests in the same contained we have received and well considered. For the accomplishing whereof, ye shall understand, that as we are readilie bent to gratifie

gratifie and satisfie your mind in this behalfe on the one side: so we must beware againe on the other, that our authoritie be not abused either to oppresse before wee know, or to judge before wee have tried. Wherefore forsomuch as you in your letters doe excite and sharpen the severe discipline of our secular sword, against one Nicolas Herford, for his not appearing before you; and yet shewing in the said your letters no certaine cause to us what you have to charge him withall: we therefore following the example of Alexander Magnus, or rather the rule of equitie in opening both our eares indifferently, to heare as well the one part as the other, doe assigne both to him, whenas he may be found, and to you when ye shall be called, a terme to appeare before us. To the intent that the controversie betweene you and him, standing upon points of religion, being tried by the true touchstone of Gods holy word, due correction indifferentlie may be ministred according as the offence shal be found. In the meane time, this we cannot but something marvell at in your said letters; First, to see you men of the church and angels of peace, to be so desirous of blood. Secondlie, to consider you againe so fierce in prosecuting the breach of your law, and yet so cold in pursuing the breach of the expresse law of God and his commandements. Thirdly, to behold the unstable doublenesse in your proceedings, who pretending in your publike sentence, to become as intreaters for them to us in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that we will withdraw from them the rigor of our severitie, and yet in your letters you be they which most set us on. If not appearing before you, be such a matter of contumacie in case of your law, that it is in no case to bee spared; what should then our princelie discipline have done to men of your calling? Henrie

Spenser bishop of Norwich, being at Canturburie, was sent for by our speciall commandement to come to our speech, denied to come, and yet we spared him. John Stratford archbishop your predecessor, being required of our progenitor king Edward the third to come to him at Yorke, would not appeare: by the occasion whereof, Scotland the same time was lost, and yet was he suffred. The like might be said of Robert Winchelsey in the daies of king Edward the first, and of Edmund archbishop of Canturburie, in the daies of king Henrie the third. Stephan Langton was sent for by king John to come, he came not. The like contumacie was in Becket toward king Henrie the second. Also in Anselme toward king Henrie the first. All these for their not appearing before their princes, ye doe excuse, who notwithstanding might have appeared without danger of life; this one man for not appearing before you, you thinke worthie of death; whose life you would have condemned notwithstanding, if he had appeared. It is no reason, if the squirill climing to the tree from the lion's clawes would not appeare, being sent for to be devoured, that the eagle therefore should seise upon him without any just cause declared against the partie. Wherefore according to this, and to that aforesaid, when he shall appeare, and you be called, and the cause justly weighed, due execution shall be ministred."

And thus far concerning Nicolas Herford, and the other aforesaid. But all this meane while what became of J. Wickliffe it is not certainely knowne. Albeit so farre as may be gathered out of Walden, it appeareth that he was banished and driven to exile. In the meane time it is not to be doubted, but he was alive during all this while, wheresoever he

he was, as by his letter may appeare, which he about this time wrote to pope Urbane the sixth. In the which letter he doth purge himselfe, that being commanded to appeare before the pope at Rome, hee came not; declaring also in the same a briefe confession of his faith. The copy of which epistle here followeth.

The Epistle of John Wickliffe sent unto Pope Urbane the Sixth. An. 1382.

"Verilie I doe rejoyce to open and declare the faith which I doe hold unto every man, and especially unto the bishop of Rome: the which forsomuch as I doe suppose to be sound and true, he will most willingly confirme my said faith, or if it bee erroneous amend the same.

"First I suppose, that the Gospell of Christ, is the whole body of God's law; and that Christ which did give that same law himselfe, I beleive him to be a very man[5], and in that point, to exceede the law of the Gospell, and all other parts of the Scripture. Againe, I doe give and hold the bishop of Rome, forsomuch as he is the vicar of Christ here in earth, to be bound most of all other men unto that law of the Gospell. For the greatnesse amongst Christ's disciples, did not consist in worldly dignity or honours, but in the neere and exact following of Christ, in his life and maners.

[5] *To be a very man.*] In Lewis's history, p. 283, we have an ancient copy of this letter, which differs considerably from this of Fox. By help of this copy, it appears that the reading in the passage before us should be, "I believe him to be very God and very Man." It there stands as follows: "I beleve that Jesu Christ, that gaf in his own persoun this gospel, is very God and very Man, and be this it passes all other lawes."

Whereupon I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here, was a most poore man, abjecting and casting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the gospell of Mat. the 8. and the 2 Cor. 8. chap.

" Hereby I doe fully gather, that no faithfull man ought to follow, neither the pope himselfe, neither any of the holy men, but in such points, as he hath followed the Lord Jesus Christ. For Peter, and the sonnes of Zebede by desiring worldly honour, contrarie to the following of Christ's steps, did offend, and therefore in those errours, they are not to be followed.

" Hereof I doe gather, as a counsell, that the pope ought to leave unto the secular power, all temporall dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to move and exhort his whole clergie, for so did Christ, and specially by his apostles.

" Wherefore if I have erred in any of these points, I will most humblie submit my selfe unto correction, even by death if necessitie so require: And if I could labour[6] according to my will, or desire in mine owne person, I would surely present my selfe before the bishop of Rome; but the Lord hath otherwise visited me to the contrarie, and hath taught me rather to obey God then men. Forsomuch then, as God hath given unto our Pope, just and true evangelicall instinctions, we ought to pray, that those motions be not extinguished by any subtle or craftie device. And that the pope and cardinals be not moved to doe any thing, contrarie unto the law of the Lord. Wherefore let us

[6] *If I could labour.*] This seems to intimate that Dr. Wickliffe was cited by the Pope to appear before him after his retiring to Lutterworth, and that he pleaded his being a paralytic as his excuse. Lewis, p. 284.

pray.

pray unto our God, that he will so stir up our pope Urbane the sixth as he began, that he with his clergie may follow the Lord Jesus Christ, in life and maners: and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they likewise may faithfully follow them in the same. And let us specially pray, that our pope may be preserved from all maligne and evill counsell, which we doe know that evill and envious men of his houshould would give him. And seeing the Lord will not suffer us to bee tempted above our power, much lesse then will he require of any creature to doe that thing which they are not able, forsomuch, as that is the plaine condition and maner of Antichrist."

Thus much wrote John Wickliffe unto pope Urban. But this pope Urbane, otherwise tearmed Turbanus[7], was so hot in his warres against Clement the French pope his adversarie, that he had no leisure, and lesse list, to attend unto Wickliffe's matters. By the occasion of which schisme, God so provided for poore Wickliffe, that he was in some more rest and quietnesse; and returning againe within short space, either from his banishment, or from some other place where he was secretly kept, he repaired to his parish of Lutterworth[8], where he was parson, and there quietly depart-

[7] *Otherwise tearmed Turbanus.*] "Urban, in the eleven years that he held the pontificate, debased the dignities of the Church by promoting the meanest persons to the purple; and fomented wars between the Christian princes; for *which cause, instead of Urbanus, he was generally called Turbanus.* He exceeded all the Popes that ever possessed the See of Rome in cruelty." Duck's Life of Archbishop Chichele, p. 10.

[8] *His parish of Lutterworth*] "It may be conjectured that it was about the time when Dr. Wickliffe returned from his embassy (when he was in commission to meet the Pope's Ambassadors),

departing[9] this mortall life, slept in peace in the Lord, in the beginning of the yiere 1384, upon Silvester's day.

Here

Ambassadors), that he had the rectory of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, given him by the king. The time of his admission does not indeed appear in the registers, which may be imputed to this, that he being by the Council of Constance condemned as an heretic, his name was left out in transcribing the registers and other public acts, that they might not be defiled with it." Lewis's History, p. 40.

[9] *Quietly departing.*] His death was occasioned by the palsy.

"On this occasion (says Mr. Lewis, History, p. 101) is Dr. Wickliffe's memory unmercifully insulted by his adversaries. Thus one of them (Walsingham, Hist. Ang. p. 312) tells us: it was reported that he had prepared accusations and blasphemies, which he intended, on the day he was taken ill, to have uttered in his pulpit against the Saint and Martyr of the day (Thomas Becket), but that by the judgment of God he was suddenly struck, and the palsy seized all his limbs; and that mouth which was to have spoken huge things against God and his saints, or holy church, was miserably drawn aside, and afforded a frightful spectacle to the beholders. His tongue was speechless and his head shook, shewing plainly that the curse which God had thundered forth against Cain, was also inflicted on him! Though it seems a report was all the ground of this censure, which is quite spoiled if what Horne attests be true, that Dr. W. was seized on Holy Innocents, the day before the feast of Thomas Becket." And still more is it spoiled, we may add, if that which Horne further attests be true, that W. had been a paralytic during two whole years before his death.

Lewis introduces, from Bale, an anecdote of a former sickness of Wickliffe, which may perhaps afford a little amusement to my readers.

"It seems that the fatigue which Dr. Wickliffe met with this year (A. D. 1378) by attending the Pope's delegates, occasioned his having a dangerous fit of sickness, that brought him almost to the point of death. The friars' mendicant hearing of it, they immediately instructed spokesmen to be sent to him in their behalf, namely, *four* solemn doctors, whom they called regents, every order his doctor. And that the message might be the more solemn, they joined with them four senators

Here is to be noted the great providence of the Lord in this man, as in divers other, whom the Lord so long preserved in such rages of so many enemies, from all their hands, even to his old age. For so it appeareth by Thomas Walden, writing against him in his tomes entituled De Sacramentis contra Wiclevum, that he was well aged before hee departed, by that which the foresaid Walden writeth of him in the Epilog, speaking of Wickliffe in these words; Ita ut cano placeret, quod juveni complacebat, &c. That is; so that the same thing pleased him in his old age, which did please him being young. Whereby it seemeth that Wickliffe lived till he was an old man by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom hee will have kept, nothing can hurt.

This Wickliffe had written divers and sundrie workes, the which in the yeare of our Lord 1410, were burnt at Oxford, the abbat of Shrewsburie being then commissarie, and sent to oversee that matter. And not onely in England, but in Boheme likewise, the bookes of the said Wickliffe were set on fire, by one Subincus archbishop of Prage, who

tors of the city (Oxford), whom they call Aldermen of the Wards. They, when they came to him, found him lying in his bed; and first of all wished him health, and a recovery from his distemper. After some time, they took notice to him of the many and great injuries which he had done to them (the begging friars) by his sermons and writings, and exhorted him, that, now he was at the point of death, he would, as a true penitent, bewail and revoke in their presence, whatever things he had said to their disparagement. But Dr. Wickliffe immediately recovering strength, called his servants to him, and ordered them to raise him a little on his pillows, which, when they had done, he said with a loud voice, *I shall not die but live, and declare the evil deeds of the friars* On which the doctors, &c. departed from him in confusion, and Dr. Wickliffe afterwards recovered." Lewis's History, p. 64.

made

made diligent inquisition for the same, and burned them. The number of the volumes, which he is said to have burned most excellently written, and richly adorned with bosses of gold, and rich coverings (as Eneas Silvius writeth) were above the number of two hundred.

Johannes Cocleus in his booke De historia Hussitarum, speaking of the bookes of Wickliffe, testifieth that hee wrote verie many bookes, sermons, and tractations. Moreover, the said Cocleus speaking of himselfe, recordeth also: that there was a certaine bishop in England which wrote unto him, declaring, that he had yet remaining in his custodie two huge and mightie volumes of John Wickliffe's workes, which for the quantities thereof might seeme to be equall with the workes of saint Augustine.

Amongst other of his treatises I my selfe also have found out certaine, as de sensu & veritate scripturæ. Item, De Ecclesia. Item, De Eucharistia confessio Wicklevi; which I intend hereafter, the Lord so granting to publish abrode.

As concerning certaine answeres of John Wickliffe which he wrote to king Richard the second, touching the right and title of the king, and of the pope; because they are but short, I thought here to annex them. The effect whereof here followeth.

It was demanded, whether the kingdome of England may lawfully in case of necessitie, for his owne defene, detaine and keepe backe the treasure of the kingdome, that it be not carried away to forren and strange nations, the pope himselfe demanding and requiring the same under paine of censure, and by vertue of obedience.

Wickliffe setting apart the minds of learned men, what

what might be said in the matter, either by the canon law, or by the law of England, or the civil law, it resteth (saith he) now onely to perswade and prove the affirmative part of this doubt by the principles of Christs law.

And first I prove it thus: Every naturall bodie hath power given of God to resist against his contrarie, and to preserve it selfe in due estate, as philosophers know very well. Insomuch, that bodies without life, are indued with such kind of power (as it is evident) unto whom hardnesse is given to resist those things that would breake it, and coldnesse to withstand the heate that dissolveth it. Forsomuch then, as the kingdome of England (after the maner and phrase of the Scriptures) ought to bee one body, and the clergie with the communaltie, the members thereof, it seemeth that the same kingdome hath such power given it of God; and so much the more apparant, by how much the same body is more precious unto God, adorned with vertue and knowledge. Forsomuch then as there is no power given of God unto any creature, for any end or purpose, but that hee may lawfully use the same to that end and purpose; it followeth that our kingdome may lawfully keep backe and detaine their treasure for the defence of it selfe, in what case soever necessitie do require the same.

Secondarilie, the same is proved by the law of the Gospell. For the pope cannot challenge the treasure of this kingdome, but under the title of almes, and consequently under the pretence of the workes of mercy, according to the rules of charity.

But in case aforesaid, the title of almes ought utterly to cease: ergo, the right and title of challenging the treasure of our realme shall cease also

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in the presupposed necessitie. Forsomuch as all charitie hath his beginning of himselfe, it were no worke of charitie, but of mere madnesse, to send away the treasures of the realme unto forren nations, whereby the realme it selfe may fall into ruine, under the pretence of such charitie

This Wickliffe albeit in his life time he had many grievous enemies, yet was there none so cruell unto him, as the clergie it selfe. Yet notwithstanding hee had many good friends, men not only of the base and meanest sort, but also nobility, amongst whom these men are to be numbred; John Clenbon, Lewes Clifford, Richard Sturius, Thomas Latimer, William Nevill, John Mountegew who plucked downe all the images in his church. Besides all these, there was the earle of Salisburie, who for contempt in him noted towards the sacrament, in carrying it home to his house, was enjoyned by Radulf Ergom bishop of Salisburie, to make in Salisburie a crosse of stone, in which all the storie of the matter should bee written, and he every Friday during his life to come to the crosse bare-foot, and bare-headed in his shirt; and there kneeling upon his knees, to do penance for his fact.

The Londoners at this time somewhat boldly trusting to the maiors authoritie, who for that yeare was John of Northampton, tooke upon them the office of the bishops, in punishing the vices (belonging to civill law) of such persons as they had found and apprehended in committing both fornication and adulterie. For first they put the women in the prison which amongst them then was named Dolium [1]. And lastly bringing them into

[1] *Named Dolium.*] "In the year 1403, the prison in Cornhill, called the *Tun*, was turned into the conduit, there now standing." Fox, p. 477.

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the market-place, where every man might behold them, and cutting off their golden lockes from their heads, they caused them to be caried about the streetes, with bagpipes and trumpets blowne before them, to the intent they should bee the better knowne and their companies avoided; according to the maner then of certain theeves that were named Apellatores, (accusers or peachers of others that were guiltlessee) which were so served. And with such other like opprobrious and reprochfull contumelies, did they serve the men also that were taken with them in committing the forenamed wickednesse and vices. Here the storie recordeth how the said Londoners were incouraged hereunto by John Wickliffe and others that followed his doctrine to perpetrate this act, in the reproch of the prelats being of the clergie. For they said, that they did not so much abhor to see the great negligence of those to whom that charge belonged, but also their filthie avarice they did as much detest; which for greedinesse of money were choked with bribes, and winking at the penalties due by the lawes appointed, suffered such persons favourably to continue in their wickednes. They said furthermore, that they greatly feared, lest for such wickednesse perpetrated within the citie and so apparently dissimuled, that God would take vengeance upon them and destroy their citie. Wherefore they said, that they could do no lesse than to purge the same; lest by the sufferance thereof, God would bring a plague upon them, or destroy them with the sword, or cause the earth to swallow up both them and their citie.

This storie (gentle reader) albeit the author thereof whom I follow, doth give it out in reprochfull

prochful wise, to the great discommendation of the Londoners for so doing; yet I thought not to omit, but to commit the same to memorie; which seemeth to me rather to tend unto the worthie commendation both of the Londoners that so did, and to the necessarie example of all other cities to follow the same.

After these things thus declared, let us now adjoine the testimoniall of the Universitie of Oxford, of John Wickliffe.

The publike Testimonie given out by the University of Oxford, touching the Commendation of the great Learning and good Life of John Wickliffe.

Unto all and singuler the children of our holy mother the church, to whom this present letter shall come; the vicechancellor of the Universitie of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the masters, wish perpetual health in the Lord. Forsomuch as it is not commonly seene, that the acts and monuments of valiant men, nor the praise and merits of good men should be passed over and hidden with perpetuall silence, but that true report and fame should continually spread abrode the same in strange and farre distant places, both for the witnesse of the same, and example of others: Forasmuch also as the provident discretion of mans nature being recompensed with cruelty, hath devised and ordained this buckler and defence, against such as doe blaspheme and slander other mens doings, that whensoever witnesse by word of mouth cannot be present, the pen by writing may supply the same:

Hereupon

Hereupon it followeth, that the special good will and care which we bare unto John Wicklifle, sometime child of this our Universitie, and professour of divinitie, moving and stirring our minds (as his manners and conditions required no lesse) with one mind, voice, and testimonie, wee doe witnesse, all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life, to have been most sincere and commendable: whose honest maners and conditions, profoundnesse of learning, and most redolent renoune and fame, wee desire the more earnestly to bee notified and knowne unto all faithfull, for that we understand the maturitie and ripenesse of his conversasation, his diligent labours and travels to tend to the praise of God, the helpe and safegard of others, and the profit of the church.

Wherefore we signifie unto you by these presents, that his conversation (even from his youth upwards, unto the time of his death) was so praise worthie and honest, that never at any time was there any note or spot of suspicion noysed of him. But in his answering, reading, preaching and determining, he behaved himselfe laudably, and as a stout and valiant champion of the faith; vanquishing by the force of the Scriptures, all such who by their wilful beggery blasphemed and slandered Christs religion. Neither was this said doctor convict of any heresie, either burned of our prelats after his buriall. God forbid that our prelats should have condemned a man of such honestie, for an heretike: who amongst all the rest of the Universitie, had written in logicke, philosophie, divinitie, moralitie, and the speculative art without peere. The knowledge of which all and singuler things, wee doe desire to testifie and deliver forth; to the intent, that the fame and renoune of this said doctor, may be the more evident

dent and had in reputation, amongst them, unto whose hands these present letters testimoniall shall come[2]."

In witnes wherof, we have caused these our letters testimoniall to bee sealed with our common seale. Dated at Oxford in our congregation house, the 5. day of October, in the yeare of our Lord, 1406.

Now as wee have declared the testimony of the Universitie of Oxford concerning the praise of John Wickliffe, it followeth likewise, that wee set forth and expresse the contrary censure and judgements of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections against him, especially of the popes councell gathered at Constance, proceeding first in condemning his bookes, then of his articles, and afterward burning of his bones.

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[2] *Shall come.*] It must not be concealed, that the authenticity of this important document is disputed, upon the authority of Dr. Thomas Gascoigne; who affirms, that "Peter Paine, an heretic, stole the common seal of the University, under which he wrote to the hereticks at Prague in Bohemia, that Oxford and all England were of the same belief with those of Prague, except the false friers mendicants."—This Paine was a zealous reformer: he died A. D. 1433. With regard to Gascoigne's authority, it is plain that he misrepresents the testimonial to such a degree, as to make it probable that he had never seen it. Jeremy Collier, who is very unfavourably disposed towards the memory of Wickliffe, does not hesitate to affirm positively, "that the testimonial was counterfeited;" and "has apparent marks of a counterfeit recommendation." Eccles. Hist. vol. i. p. 624. The question is examined at full length by Lewis in his History, p. 183, 192. He is by no means disposed to give up the authenticity; but maintains it, as it should seem, upon very good grounds. The utmost concession, he thinks, which can be made to the adversary, is to admit as a conjecture, that it is possible Wickliffe's party might take advantage of the vacation, and the absence of his enemies from the University, and get this testimonial passed by the majority of those who came thither for this very purpose.

The Decree of the Synode of Constance, touching the taking up of the Bodie and Bones of John Wickliffe to be burned, 41. Yeeres after he was buried in his owne parish at Lutterworth.

"Forasmuch as by the authoritie of the sentence and decree of the councell of Rome, and by the commandement of the church and the apostolicall see after due delayes being given, they proceeded unto the condemnation of the said John Wickliffe, and his memorie; having first made proclamation, and given commandement to call forth whosoever would defend the said Wickcliffe, or his memorie (if there were any such) but there did none appeare, which would either defend him or his memorie. And moreover, witnesses being examined by commissioners appointed by pope John and his councell, upon the impenitencie and finall obstinacie and stubbornnesse of the said John Wickliffe (reserving that which is to be reserved, as in such busines the order of the law requireth) and his impenitencie and obstinacy even unto his end, being sufficiently proved by evident signs and tokens, and also by lawful witnesses, and credit lawfullie given thereunto: Wherefore at the instance of the steward of the treasurie, proclamation being made to heare and understand the sentence against this day; the sacred synod declareth, determineth, and giveth sentence, that the said John Wickliffe was a notorious obstinate heretike, and that he died in his heresie, cursing and condemning both him and his memorie.

"This synod also decreeth and ordaineth, that the body and bones of the said John Wickliffe, if it

As to the practical value and importance of this testimonial, we have ample evidence of the popularity at Oxford of Wickliffe's person, and his cause in the concessions and the complaints of his adversaries. See Wilkin's Concilia, iii. p. 315. 316. Lewis's History, p. 191.

might

might be discerned and knowne from the bodies of other faithfull people, bee taken out of the ground, and throwne away farre from the buriall of any church, according unto the canon lawes [1] and decrees. Which determination and sentence definitive being read and pronounced, the lord president, and the foresaid presidents of the 4. nations, being demanded and asked whether it did please them or no? They all answered (and first Hostiensis the president, and after him the other presidents of the nations) that it pleased them very well, and so they allowed and confirmed all the premisses."

What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weepe, to see these so sage and reverend Catoes, to occupie their heades to take up a poore mans bodie, so long dead and buried before, by the space of 41. yeeres? and yet peradventure were not able to find his right bones, but tooke up some other bodie, and so of a catholicke made an hereticke. Albeit, herein Wickliffe had some cause to give them thanks that they

[1] *According unto the canon lawes.*] If after death any one shall be found to have been an heretic, his body must be digged up, and his bones burnt. *Concil. Albiense canon.* 52.

"Seldom shall ye see a knowen heretyke *buried*, but most commonly *burned*. Example of this hath bene lately seue here in England, by Thomas Hytton, Thomas Bylney, &c. The body of Formosus was first taken up by Steven vi. bishop of Rome, and disgraded. The bones of master John Wickliffe were taken up and burned forty years after his death. So of late years, in Worcester diocese, the body of master William Tracy, Esq. and in London, the body of Richard Hunn, merchant-taylor. Moreover, John Colet, dean of Paul's in London, also was not far from the same, for reading Paul's Epistles." Bale's *Image of both churches.* Revelation, chap. xi.

Several other accounts of similar proceedings against the bones of declared heretics may be found during the progress of the English Reformation. See Fox, p. 1438. (John Tooly) p. 1550. (John and William Glover) p. 1777. (Martin Bucer and Paulus Fagius at Cambridge), p. 1785. (Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford), &c.

would

would at least spare him so long till hee was dead, and also to give him so long respite after his death, 41. yeeres to rest in his sepulchre before they ungraved him, and turned him from earth to ashes: which ashes also, they tooke and threw into the river. And so was he resolved into three elements, earth, fire, and water, they thinking thereby utterly to extinct and abolish both the name and doctrine of Wickliffe for ever. Not much unlike to the example of the old Pharisies and sepulcher-knights, which when they had brought the Lord unto the grave, thought to make him sure never to rise againe. But these and all other must know, that as there is no councell against the Lord; so there is no keeping down of veritie, but it will spring and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man. For though they digged up his bodie, burnt his bones, and drowned his ashes; yet the word of God and truth of his doctrine with the fruite and successe thereof they could not burne, which yet to this day for the most part of his articles doe remaine, notwithstanding, the transitorie bodie and bones of the man was thus consumed and dispersed.

These things thus finished and accomplished, which pertain to the storie and time of Wickliffe: let us now (by the supportation of the Lord) proceed to intreate and write of the rest, which either in his time [4] or after his time, springing out of

[4] *Which either in his time.*] The progress of Wickliffe's opinions, both among the clergy and laity, was exceedingly rapid and extensive. "The number of those who believed in his doctrine (says Knyghton, a contemporary historian) very much increased, and like suckers growing out of the root of a tree, were multiplied; and every where filled the circuit of the kingdom. You could not meet two people in the way, but one of them was a disciple of Wickcliffe." *De Eventib. Angliæ,*

of the same universitie, and raised up (as ye would say) out of his ashes were partakers of the same persecution. Of whom speaketh Thomas Walden in his booke, De Sacramentis et Sacramentalibus, cap. 53; where he saith, that after Wickliffe many suffered most cruel death, and many mo did forsake the realme.

In the number of whom was William Swinderby, Walter Brute, John Purvey, Richard White, William Thorpe, Raynold Pecocke, B. of S. Assaph, and afterward of Chichester.

To this catalogue also pertaineth (mentioned in ancient writers) Lawrence Redman master of arte, David Sautre divine, John Aschwarby vicar, as they call him, of S. Marie church at Oxford, William James an excellent young man well learned, Thomas Brightwell, and William Haulam a civil-

Angliæ, p. 2663. Walsingham is full of similar complainings. Hist. Angliæ, pp. 304. 256. 281. Wickliffe himself declares, that a third part of the clergy entertained the same opinions as he did respecting the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. "I am certaine of the thirdde parte of the clergie that defendes thise doutes that is here said, that they will defende it on paine of her lyfe." Knyghton, p. 2650. Lewis's Hist. p. 88. And in another place he thus speaks of the nobility: "But one coumfort is of knyghtes, that they saveren muche the gospel, and have wylle to rede in Englysche the gospel of Crist's Lyfe." Lewis on the Translations of the Bible. p. 22. The persecution of his followers helped, if we may believe Fox, only to increase their number. "Such be the workes of the Lord, passing all mens admiration; all this notwithstanding, so far was it off, that the number and courage of these good men was vanquished, that rather they multiplied daily and increased. For so I find in registers recorded, that these foresaid persons, whom the king and the catholicke fathers did so greatly detest for heretickes, were in divers countries of this realme dispersed, and increased, especially at London, in Lincolnshire, in Norfolke, in Herefordshire, in Shrewsburie, in Calice, and divers other quarters mo." p. 485.

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lian, Rafe Grenhurst, John Scut, and Philip Norice: which being excommunicated by pope Eugenius the fourth, in the yeere of our Lord 1446. appealed unto a generall or œcumenicall councell.

Peter Paine flying from Oxford unto Boheme, did stoutlie contend against the sophisters, as touching both kinds in the Sacrament of the last Supper. Who afterward among the rest of the orators was one of the 14. that was sent unto the councell at Basill; whereas by the space of three daies, he disputed upon the 4. article, which was as touching the civill dominion of the clergy, anno 1438. Also the lord Cobham, &c. with divers others besides.

To these above rehearsed and other favourers of Wickliffe, within this countrie of England, wee may adde also the Bohemians; forsomuch as the propagation of the said doctrine of Wickliffe, in that countrie also tooke roote, comming from England to Boheme, by this occasion as in storie here followeth.

There chanced at that time a certaine student of the countrie of Bohemia to be at Oxford, one of a wealthie house and also of a noble stocke. Who returning home from the Universitie of Oxford, to the Universitie of Prage, carried with him certain bookes of Wickliffe, De realibus Universalibus, De civili jure, & divino, De ecclesia, De quæstionibus variis contra clerum, &c. It chanced the same time, a certain noble man in the citie of Prage, had founded and builded a great church of Matthias and Mattheus, which church was called Bethleem, giving to it great lands, and finding in it two preachers every day, to preach both holie day, and working day to the people. Of the which

two preachers, John Hus was one, a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellentlie favoured for his worthie life amongst them. This John Hus having familiarittie with this young man, in reading and perusing these books of Wickliffe, took such pleasure and fruit in reading thereof, that not only he began to defend this author openlie in the schooles, but also in his sermons; commending him for a good man, an holie man, and heavenlie man, wishing himselfe when he should die, to be there placed whereas the soule of Wickliffe should be. And thus for the spreading of Wickliffes doctrine enough.

Thus it may appeare how the gospel of Christ preached by John Wickliffe and others, beganne to spread and fructifie abroad in London, and other places of the realme: and more would have done no doubt, had not William Courtney, the archbishop, and other prelats with the king, set them so forcibly with might and maine, to gainstand the course thereof. Albeit, I finde none which yet were put to death [5] therefore, during the raigne of

[5] *None which yet were put to death.*] "King Henrie the fourth, who was the deposer of king Richard, was the first of all English kings that began the unmercifull burning of Christs saints for standing against the pope; and William Sautre, the true and faithfull martyr of Christ, was the first of all them in Wickliffe's time, which I find to be burned in the raigne of the foresaid king; which was in the yeere of our Lord 1400." Fox, p. 477. It was enacted by the parliament, A. D. 1400, that any one who preached or wrote contrary to the catholic faith, and determinations of holy church, should be arrested, and proceeded against according to the canons; and being convicted should be imprisoned, and tried at the diocesan's discretion; and if he refused to abjure, or relapsed after abjuration, he should be delivered over to the secular power, to be burned in some conspicuous place, that the punishment might strike fear into the minds of others. See Lewis *Life of Pecock*, p. 288—299.

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this king Richard the second. Whereby it is to bee thought of this king, that although he cannot be utterly excused for molesting the godly and innocent preachers of that time, (as by his brieſes and letters afore mentioned may appeare) yet neither was he so cruel against them, as other that came after him: and that which hee did, seemed to proceed by the instigation of the pope and other bishoppes, rather then either by the consent of his parliament, or advice of his counsell about him, or else by his owne nature. For as the decrees of the parliament in all his time, were constant in stopping out the popes provisions, and in bridling his authority; so the nature of the king was not altogether so fiercely set, if that he following the guiding thereof, had not stood so much in feare of the bishoppe of Rome and his prelats, by whose importune letters and calling on, he was continually urged to doe contrary to that, which both right required, and will perhaps in him desired. But howsoever the doings of this king are to be excused, or not, undoubted it is, that queene Anne his wife, most rightly deserveth singular commendation; who at the same time living with the king, had the gospels of Christ in English, with foure doctors upon the same. This Anne was a Bohemian borne, and sister to Wincelaus, king of Boheme before; who was married to king Richard about the fifth (some say, the sixth) yeere of his raigne, and continued with him the space of eleven yeeres. By the occasion whereof it may seeme not unprobable, that the Bohemians comming in with her, or resorting into this realme after her, perused and received here the bookes of John Wickliffe, which afterward they conveied into Bohemia, whereof partly mention is made before.

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The said vertuous queene Anne, after she had lived with king Richard about eleven yeeres, in the seventeenth yeere of his raigne, changed this mortal life, and was buried at Westminster. At whose funeral Thomas Arundel, then Archbishop of Yorke, and lord chancellor, made the sermon. In which sermon (as remaineth in the library of Worcester recorded,) he intreating of the commendation of her, said these words: That it was more joy of her then of any woman that ever he knew. For notwithstanding that she was an alien borne, she had in English all the foure gospels, with the doctors upon them: affirming moreover and testifying, that she had sent the same unto him to examin. And he said they were good and true. And further with many words of praise, did greatly commend her, in that she being so great a lady, and also an alien, would study so lowly so vertuous bookes. And hee blamed in that sermon sharply the negligence of the prelats and other men. Insomuch that some said, he would on the morrow leave up the office of chancellor, and forsake the world, and give him to fulfill his pastorall office, for that hee had seene and read in those bookes. And then it had beene the best sermon that ever they heard. In the which sermon of Thomas Arundel, three points are to be considered. First, the laudable use of those old times received to have the scripture and doctours in our vulgar English tongue. Secondly, the vertuous exercise and also example of this godly lady, who had these bookes not for a shew hanging at her girdle; but also seemeth by this sermon to be a studious occupier of the same. The third thing to be noted, is, what fruit the said Thomas archbishop declared also himself to receive at the hearing and reading of the same bookes of hers

hers in the English tongue. Notwithstanding, the same Thomas Arundel, after this sermon and promise made, became the most cruell enemy that might be against English books [6], and the authors thereof.

[6] *Against English books.*] Thus in his famous constitutions against Lollardy, A. D. 1408, when he was archbishop of Canterbury, he declares against the translation of the Scriptures. Constit. 7. "The translation of the text of holy Scriptures out of one tongue into another, is a dangerous thing, as St. Jerome testifies, because it is not easy to make the sense in all respects the same. Therefore we enact and ordain, that no one henceforth do by his own authority translate any text of holy Scripture into the English tongue, or any other, by way of book or treatise; nor let any such book or treatise now lately composed in the time of John Wickliffe aforesaid, or since, or hereafter to be composed, be read in whole or in part, in publick or in private, under pain of the greater excommunication." Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 317. Fox, p. 484.

It is remarkable that Fox, in this life of Wickliffe, has given no account of the labours of that great man in translating the Scriptures, which, no doubt, tended more to the introduction of the Reformation, than all his other efforts. To supply, in some degree, a remedy for this deficiency, I shall insert in this place an extract from his Life, written by the late Rev. William Gilpin. But the most ample and correct information on this subject must be sought for in Lewis's *History of the English Translations of the Bible*, which in its original state was prefixed to an edition of Wickliffe's New Testament, in the year 1731.

"Some have contended, that Dr. Wicliffe was not the first translator of the bible into English. The truth seems to be that he was the first who translated the whole together, of which it is probable others might have given detached parts. It does not however appear that Dr. Wicliffe understood the Hebrew language. His method was, to collect what Latin bibles he could find: from these he made one correct copy; and from this translated. He afterwards examined the best commentators then extant, particularly Nicholas Lyra; and from them inserted in his margin those passages, in which the Latin differed from the Hebrew.

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"In his translation of the bible, he seems to have been *literally* exact. In his other works his language was wonderfully elegant for the times in which he lived: but here he was studious only of the plain sense; which led him often through the confusion of idioms within the limits of nonsense. *Quid nobis & tibi, Jesu, fili, dei*, we find translated thus, *What to us, and to thee, Jesus the son of God.*

"This work, it may readily be imagined, had no tendency to reinstate him in the good opinion of the clergy. An universal clamour was immediately raised. Knyghton, a canon of Leicester, and a contemporary with Wicliffe, hath left us upon record, the language of the times. "Christ entrusted his gospel," says that ecclesiastic, "to the clergy and doctors of the church, to minister it to the laity, and weaker sort, according to their exigencies, and several occasions. But this master John Wicliffe, by translating it, has made it vulgar; and has laid it more open to the laity, and even to women who can read, than it used to be to the most learned of the clergy, and those of the best understanding: and thus the gospel jewel, the evangelical pearl, is thrown about, and trodden under foot by swine." Such language was looked upon as good reasoning by the clergy of that day, who saw not with what satyr it was edged against themselves.

"The bishops in the mean time, and mitred abbots, not content with railing, took more effectual means to stop this growing evil. After much consultation they brought a bill into parliament to suppress Wickliffe's bible. The advocates for it set forth in their usual manner, the alarming prospect of heresy, which this version of the Scriptures opened, and the ruin of all religion which must inevitably ensue.

"These zealots were answered by the principal reformers, who judiciously encountered them with their own weapons. It appears, said the Wicliffites, from the decretals, that more than sixty species of heresy sprang up in the church after the translation of the bible into Latin. But the utility of that translation, notwithstanding its bad consequences, all parties acknowledge. With what face therefore, they asked, could the bishops pretend to discountenance an English translation, when they could not produce one argument against it which did not equally conclude against the Latin one? This reasoning silenced all opposition: and the bill was thrown out by a great majority.

"The zeal of the bishops to suppress Wicliff's bible, only made it, as is generally the case, the more sought after. They who were able among the reformers, purchased copies; and they

they who were not able, procured at least transcripts of particular gospels, or epistles, as their inclinations led. In after-times, when Lollardy increased, and the flames were kindled, it was a common practice, to fasten about the neck of the condemned heretic, such of the scraps of Scripture as were found in his possession, which generally shared his fate." Gilpin's *Life of John Wicliffe*, p. 37—40. edit. 1765.

WILLIAM THORPE.

And yet, during that degeneracy of so great a part of the Christian Church, some few in every age did appear who did resolutely own the truth, and bear witness to it with their blood. But these did almost stand alone and by themselves, like a few scattered sheep, wandering up and down in a wide wilderness.

TILLOTSON.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE language in the following *Examination of William Thorpe*, being in several places, by reason of its high antiquity, to a considerable degree obsolete, an apprehension of the distaste which this might occasion to some of his readers, made the Editor hesitate respecting the fitness of its constituting a part of the present collection. But he was prevailed upon to decide for its admission, by considerations which he accounts much more worthy of regard: Such as are the extraordinary piety, and zeal, and resignation, displayed by this confessor in his hour of trial; the purity and elegance of the stile; the interest which the narrative inspires from the lively and dramatic air in which it is composed; and its value as a document connected and interwoven with the History and Progress of the Reformation in *general;* and more *particularly*, with the opinions, partly true and partly false, of Wickliffe and his followers. It is also a circumstance not to be slighted, that we here possess an authentic picture of ancient English manners, and a specimen of ancient English prose composition, removed from our own times by the interval of four hundred years.

The popularity of this Tract, and its influence upon the further progress of the Reformation, may be collected from its possessing a place among the works condemned by an assembly of the Clergy and others, in the year 1530; and from the frequency with which those who were called into question for heretical opinions, were taxed with possessing and reading it. (See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol.

vol. iii. p. 739. *Declaration of Seton and Tolwine*, A. D. 1541. Signat. B. 3. Bale's *Yet a Course at the Romyshe Foxe*, fol. 47. Fox's *Acts*, p. 759. 932. and 954).

However different it may be from his own judgment of its truth and reasonableness, the Editor is unwilling to conceal the censure passed upon this performance by Sir Thomas More, in his *Confutation of Tyndal's Answer*, A. D. 1532.

"Then have we the Examinacion of Thorpe, put furth, as it is sayd by George Constantine, by whom there hath been I wot well of that sort great plentie sent into thys realme. In that booke the heretyke that made it as a communicacion betwene the Bishop, and his Chapleynes, and himselfe, maketh all the parties speake as himselfe liketh, and layeth nothing spoken against his heresies, but such as himselfe would seme solemnely to soyle. Whose boke, when any good Chrysten man readeth, that hath eyther learning or any natural witte, he shal not onely be well hable to perceive hym for a foolish heretike, and his argumentes easy to answer, but shal also see that he sheweth himself a false lyer in hys rehearsal of the matter, wherin he maketh the tother part sometime speke for his commoditie, such maner things as no man woulde have done that were not a verye wild goose." *Works*, p. 342. In justice to Thorpe it is but fair to add, that he assures us, in the Preface, which for brevity's sake is omitted in the present edition, that he went "as neare the sentence and the words as he could, both that were spoken to him, and that he spake, upa-venture his writing might come another time before the Archbishop and his counsaile."

WILLIAM THORPE.

NEXT commeth to our hands the worthy historie of master William Thorpe, a warrior valiant, under the triumphant banner of Christ, with the processe of his examinations, before Thomas Arundell archbishop of Canterburie written by the said Thorpe, and storied by his owne pen, at the request of his friends, as by his owne words in the proces heereof may appeare. In whose examination (which seemeth first to beginne, anno 1407.) thou shalt have good reader, both to learne and to marvell. To learne, in that thou shalt heare truth discoursed and discussed, with the contrary reasons of the adversary dissolved. To marvell, for that thou shalt behold heere in this man, the marvellous force and strength of the Lords might, spirit and grace, working and fighting in his souldiers, and also speaking in their mouthes, according to the word of his promise. (Luke xxi.) To the text of the story we have neither added nor diminished: but as we have received it, copied out, and corrected by master William Tindall (who had his owne handwriting) so wee have heere sent it, and set it out abroad. Although for the more credite of the matter, I rather wished it in his owne naturall speech, wherein it was first written. Notwithstanding, to put away all doubt and scruple heerein, this I thought before to premonise and testifie to the reader, touching the certainty heereof, that they be yet alive which have seene the selfe same copie in

in his owne old English, resembling the true antiquity both of the speech, and of the time: The name of whom, as for record of the same to avouch, is Master Whithead; who as he hath seene the true ancient copie in the hands of George Constantine[1], so hath hee given credible relation of the same, both to the printer, and to me. Furthermore, the said master Tindall, albeit hee did somewhat alter and amend the English thereof, and frame it after our maner, yet not fully in all words; but that something doth remaine, savouring of the old speech of that time.

The Examination of William Thorpe, penned with his owne Hand.

Knowne be it to all men, that reade or heare this writing, that on the Sunday next after the feast of S. Peter, that we call Lammasse, in the yeere of our Lord 1407. I William Thorpe being in prison in the castle of Saltwood, was brought before Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Canterburie, and Chancellor then of England. And when that I came to him, he stood in a great chamber and much people about him: and when that hee sawe me, hee went fast into a closet, bidding all secular men that followed him to goe forth from him soone, so that no man was left then in that closet but the Archbishop himselfe and a physitian that was called

[1] *George Constantine.*] This is the person who by Sir Thomas More was supposed to have been the first editor of Thorpe's Examination.—Master Whitehead is appealed to as one well known to be worthy of credit In the year 1552 he was recommended by Cranmer for "his good knowledge, special honestie, fervent zeal, and politicke wisdom" as most meet to be placed in the Archbishopric of Armagh. And upon the accession of Q. Elizabeth, it is said, that he was solicited to accept of the see of Canterbury, but he refused.

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Malveren, parson of S. Dunstanes in London, and other two persons unknowne to me, which were ministers of the law. And I standing before them, by and by the Archbishop said to me. William, I know well that thou hast this twentie winters and more, travelled about busilie in the North countrey and in other divers countries of England, sowing about false doctrine, having great businesse, if thou might, with thine untrue teaching and shrewde will, for to infect and poison all this land. But through the grace of God thou art now withstanded and brought into my ward, so that I shall now sequester thee from thine evill purpose, and let thee to envenime the sheepe of my province. Nevertheless S. Paul saith, If it may be, as much as in us is, we ought to have peace with all men. Therefore William, if thou wilt now meekly and of good heart, without any feining, kneele downe and lay thy hand upon a booke and kisse it, promising faithfully as I shall here charge thee, that thou wilt submit thee to my correction, and stand to mine ordinance, and fulfill it duely by all thy cunning and power, thou shalt yet find me gratious unto thee. Then said I to the archbishop: Sir, since ye deem me an heretike, and out of beleeve, will ye give me here audience to tell my beleeve? And he said, Yea, tell on.

And I said, I beleeve that there is not but one God almightie, and in this Godhead, and of this Godhead, are three persons, that is, the father, the sonne, and the soothfast holy ghost[z]. And I beleeve,

[z] *Soothfast Holy Ghost.*] *Soothfast, soothfastness; true, truth:* as we have *in sooth* still in use. In Pierce Ploughman's *Vision*, fol. 89, edit. 1550, we find the *son* termed *soothfastness.*

beleeve, that all these three persons are even in power and in cunning, and in might, full of grace and of all goodnesse. For whatsoever that the father doth, or can, or will, that thing also the sonne doth and can and will: and in all their power cunning and will, the holy Ghost is equall to the father, and to the sonne.

Over this, I beleeve, that through counsell of this most blessed Trinitie, in most convenient time before ordained for the salvation of mankind, the second person of this Trinitie was ordained to take the forme of man, that is, the kind of man. And I beleeve, that this second person our Lord Jesu Christ, was conceived through the holy Ghost, in the wombe of the most blessed virgin Marie, without mans seed. And I beleeve that after nine moneths Christ was borne of this most blessed virgine.

And I beleeve, that Christ our Saviour was circumcised in the eight day after his birth, in fulfilling of the law; and his name was called Jesus, which was so called of the angell, before that hee was conceived in the wombe of Marie his mother.

And I beleeve that Christ, as he was about thirty yeere old, was baptised in the floud of Jordane of John Baptist: and in the likenesse of a Dove the holy Ghost descended there upon him, and a voice was heard from heaven, saying, Thou art my welbeloved sonne, in thee I am full pleased.

And I beleeve, that Christ was mooved then by the holy Ghost, for to go into the desert, and there he fasted forty daies and forty nights without bodily

The first hath might and majestie, maker of all things;
Pater is hys propre name, a person by him selfe;
The second of that sire is *soothfastenes Filius*;
The thirde hight the *Holy Goste*.

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meat and drinke. And I beleeve that by and by after his fasting, when the manhood of Christ hungred, the fiend came to him, and tempted him in gluttonie, in vaineglorie, and in covetise: but in all those temptations, Christ concluded the fiend[3], and withstood him. And then without tarrying, Jesu began to preach, and to say unto the people, Do ye penance, for the realme of heaven is now at hand.

[3] *Concluded the fiend.*] Thus Pierce Ploughman versifies a part of our Saviour's promises to the Apostles:

Though ye come before kinges, and clarkes of the lawe
Be not abashed, for I shall be in your mouthes,
And gyve you wytte and wyll, and conning to *conclud*
Them all that agaynst you of Christendome disputen. Fol. 52.

We have two good instances of a like use of the same word in a very important passage in a letter of Sir Thomas More to his daughter Margaret Roper, respecting his refusing to swear to the king's supremacy and the succession.

"My Lord of Canterbury (Cranmer) taking hold upon that that I saide, that I condempned not the consciences of them that sware, said unto me, that it appeared well, that I did not take it for a very sure thing and a certaine, that I might not lawfullye swere it, but rather as a thing uncertain and doubtfull. But then (said my Lorde) you knowe for a certainty and a thynge without dout, that you be bounden to obey your soverain lorde your king. And therefore are ye bounden to leave off the dout of your unsure consciens in refusing the othe, and take the sure waye in obeying of your prince, and swere it. Now al was it so, that in mine own mind me thought my self not *concluded*, yet this argument semed me sodenly so suttle, and namely with such authorite comming out of so noble a prelates mouth, that I could againe aunswere nothing thereto, but only that I thought my self I might not well do so, because that in my consciens thys was one of the cases, in which I was bounden that I shoulde not obey my prince, syth that whatsoever other folke thought in the matter (whose consciens or learning I wold not condempne nor take uppon me to judge,) yet in my consciens the truth semed on the tother side.... And of trouth if that reason may *conclude*, then have we a readye way to avoide al purplexities." Works, p. 1429.

I beleeve that Christ in all his time here lived most holilie, and taught the wilt of his father most truely: and I beleeve that he suffered therefore most wrongfully, greatest repreefes and despisings.

And after this, when Christ would make an end here of this temporall life, I beleeve, that in the day next before that hee would suffer passion in the morne, in forme of bread and of wine, hee ordained the Sacrament of his flesh and his bloud, that is, his own pretious bodie, and gave it to his Apostles for to eate; commanding them, and by them all their after commers, that they should in this forme that hee shewed to them, use themselves, and teach and common forth[4] to other men and women this most worshipful and holiest Sacrament, in mindfulnesse of his holiest living, and of his most true preaching, and of his wilfull and patient suffering of the most painfull passion.

And I beleeve that this Christ our Saviour, after that hee had ordained this most worthie Sacrament of his owne pretious bodie, hee went forth wilfullie against his enemies, and hee suffered them most patiently to lay their hands most violently upon him, and to bind him, and to lead him forth as a theefe, and to scorne and buffet him, and alk to

[4] *Teach and common forth.*] *Communicate.* And the word, besides being used of any kind of intercourse in general, either in the sense of giving or receiving, was more particularly applied to the *communication* and to the participation of the *Sacrament* of the Lord's Supper. "In Actibus Apostolorum" (as Wickliffe tells us) "is seid thus, And Christen men weren dwelling in teching of Apostles, and in *communing* of breking of bread; sith St. Paul seith the bread that we break is *communing* of Christ's body." Lewis's *History*, p. 78. And Thorpe himself thus censures the temporizing Lollards. "But yet some mad fooles say, (for to eschew slander), they will be shriven once in the yeere, and *communed* of their proper priests, though they knowe them defouled with slanderous vices." Thorpe's *Testament*, printed in Fox's *Acts*, p. 500.

blow

blow or file him[5] with their spittings. Over this, I beleeve, that Christ suffered most meekly and patiently his enemies for to ding out[6] with sharpe scourges the bloud that was betweene his skinne and his flesh: yea without grudging Christ suffered the cruel Jewes to crowne him with most sharpe thornes, and to strike him with a reed. And after, Christ suffered wicked Jewes to draw him out upon the crosse, and for to naile him thereupon hand and foot. And so through his pitifull nailing, Christ shed out wilfullie for mans life, the bloud that was in his vaines. And then Christ gave wilfully his spirit into the hands or power of his father, and so, as he would, and when hee would, Christ died wilfullie for mans sake upon the crosse. And notwithstanding that Christ was wilfully, painefully, and most shamefully put to death, as to the world; there was left bloud and water in his heart, as before ordained, that hee would shed out this bloud and this water for mans salvation. And therefore

[5] *All to blow or file him.*] There is some difficulty about the word *blow* in this passage. But, I apprehend, that it means to *discolour* (with an affinity to the word *blue*), to *disfigure*, &c. In Pierce Ploughman's Vision, fol. 13, the noun adjective is used in the sense of *black*, or *sordid*, &c.

> —— fyre shal fal and brenne al to *blo* ashes
> The houses and homes of hem that desireth
> Gyftes.

The other word *file* is the same with *defile*, to make *vile*. As in the *Golden Legend*, fol. 16. b. "The visage whiche was moost fayre of all other membres is *fyled*, bespytte, and hurte with the thornes of the Jewes." And in the same page, "The vysage which aungels desyre to se, the Jewes wyth theyr spyttyng have *defyled*; wyth theyr handes have smytten."

[6] *To ding out.*] To *ding* is to *beat* or *knock*. Thus Vision of Pierce Ploughman, fol. 50. b.

"And Do-Wel shal *ding* him down, and distroi his might." Seeal so fol. 77.

he

he suffered the Jewes to make a blind knight[7] to thrust him into the heart with a speare, and this the bloud and water that was in his heart, Christ would shed out for mans love: and after this, I beleeve that Christ was taken down from the crosse and buried. And I beleeve that on the third day by the power of his Godhead, Christ rose againe from death to life. And the fortie day thereafter, I beleeve that Christ ascended up into heaven. and that he there sitteth on the right hand of the father almightie. And the fiftie day after his upgoing, he sent to his Apostles the holy Ghost, that he had promised them before: and I beleeve that Christ shall come and judge all mankind, some to everlasting peace. and some to everlasting paines.

And as I beleeve in the father, and in the son, that they are one God almightie, so I beleeve in the holy Ghost that hee is also with them the same God almightie.

And I beleeve an holy church, that is. all they that have ben, and that now are, and alwaies to the end of the world shall be, a people the which shall endevour them to know and to keepe the commandements of God, dreading over all thing

[7] *To make a blind knight.*] The soldier who pierced the side of Christ with his spear upon Mount Calvary, some of the old writers tell us, was physically blind, when he did the deed. The story is thus related in the Golden Legend, fol. 98. b. "Some saye that whan he smote our Lorde with the spere in the syde, the precyous blode avaled (*ran down*) by the shaft of the spere upon his handes; and of aventure with his handes he touched his eyen. And anone he that had be tofore *blynde* sawe anone clerely; wherefore he refused all chevaulry, and abode with the Apostles, of whom he was taught and chrystened," and so in process of time, he was canonised, and honoured with his place in the Calendar, under the name of St. Longius (Λόγχη).—The story is told with circumstances even much more marvellous, in Pierce Ploughman's Vision, fol. 98.

to

to offend God, and loving and seeking most to please him: and I beleeve, that all they that have had, and yet have, and al they that yet shall have the foresaid vertues, surely standing in the beleefe of God, hoping stedfastly in his mercifull doings, continuing to their end in perfect charitie, wilfully, patientlie and gladly suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ chiefly and his Apostles, all these have their names written in the booke of life.

Therefore I beleeve, that the gathering together of this people, living now here in this life, is the holy Church of God, fighting here on earth against the fiend, the prosperitie of the world, and their fleshly lusts. Wherefore, seeing that all the gathering together of this Church before said, and every part thereof, neither coveteth, nor willeth, nor loveth, nor seeketh any thing but to eschew the offence of God, and to doe his pleasing will: meekly, gladly, and wilfully, with all mine heart, I submit my selfe unto this holy Church of Christ, to bee ever buxome and obedient[8] to the ordinance of it, and of every member thereof, after my knowledge and power,

Buxome and obedient.] "His epithet 'buxom health' (says Dr. Johnson, speaking of Mr. Gray's Ode on a distant prospect of Eton College, in his Life of that Poet) is not elegant; he seems not to understand the word."—It is certain, whatever may be the signification of this epithet in *modern* usage, it was anciently applied in the sense of pliancy, meekness, and submission; as we see here, and shall find in other instances in the course of this work. Few of my readers will need to be reminded of that use of the word in the bride's engagements to her husband in the Marriage Service in the Salisbury and York Liturgies, before the reformation. Thus likewise the Ploughman of old makes his melancholy complaining of the infelicities of the marriage state in his times: "A man shall not find two wedded in a land, where the husband loves

power, by the helpe of God. Therefore I knowledge now, and evermore shall, if God will, that with all my heart, and with all my might, I wil submit me only to the rule and governance of them, whom after my knowledge, I may perceive by the having and using of the beforesaid vertues, to be members of the holy Church. Wherefore these articles of beleefe and all other (both of the old law, and of the new, which after the commandement of God any man ought to beleeve) I beleeve verilie in my soule, as a sinfull deadly wretch of my cunning and power ought to beleeve; praying the Lord God for his holy name, for to increase my beleefe, and to helpe my unbeleefe.

And for because to the praising of Gods name, I desire above all things to bee a faithfull member of holy church, I make this protestation before you all foure that are now here present, coveting that all men and women that now be absent knew the same; that is, what thing soever before this time I have said or done, or what thing here I shall do or say, or at any time hereafter; I beleeve, that all the old law and new law given and ordeined by counsell of the three persons of the Trinitie, were given and written to the salvation of mankind. And I beleeve, that these lawes are sufficient for mans salvation. And I beleeve every article of these lawes, to the intent that these articles ordained and commanded of these three persons of the most blessed Trinitie are to be beleeved.

loves the wife, and the wife is *buxum* to the man, as they shoulden, after the law of marriage. But other the man loves not his wife, or the wife is not *buxum* to her man... And Lord, all this mischiefe is common among this people, for that they know not thy word." Complaint and Prayer of the Ploughman, in Fox's *Acts*, p. 374.

And

And therefore to the rule and the ordinance of these, Gods lawes, meekely, gladly and wilfullie, I submit me with all mine heart; that whosoever can or will by authoritie of Gods law, or by open reason, tell me that I have erred or now erre, or any time hereafter shall erre in any article of beleefe (from which inconvenience God keep me for his goodnesse) I submit me to be reconciled, and to be buxum and obedient unto those lawes of God, and to every article of them. For by authoritie specially of these lawes, I will through the grace of God, bee united charitablie unto these lawes. Yea sir, and over this, I beleeve and admit all the sentences, authorities and reasons of the Saints and Doctors, according unto holy scripture, and declaring it truely. I submit me wilfullie and meekely to bee ever obedient after my cunning and power, to all these saints and doctors, as they are obedient in work and in word to God and to his law, and further not (to my knowledge) not for any earthly power, dignitie or state, through the helpe of God.

But Sir, I pray you tell me, if after your bidding, I shall lay my hand upon the booke, to what entent? to sweare thereby? And the archbishop said to me, Yea, wherefore else? And I said to him: Sir, a booke is nothing else but a thing coupled together of divers creatures, and to sweare by any creature both Gods law and mans law is against it.

But Sir, this thing I say here to you before these your clerks, with my foresaid protestation, that how, where, when, and to whom, men are bound to sweare or to obey in any wise after Gods law, and saints, and true doctors, according with Gods law, I will through Gods grace bee ever readie thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray

pray you Sir, for the charitie of God, that yee will before that I sweare (as I have here rehearsed to you) tell me how or whereto, that I shall submit me; and shew me whereof that yee will correct mee, and what is the ordinance that yee will thus oblige me to fulfill?

And the archbishop said unto me, I will shortly that now thou sweare here to me, that thou shalt forsake al the opinions which the sect of Lollards hold, and is slandered with; so that after this time, neither privilie nor apertly, thou hold any opinion which I shall (after thou hast sworne) rehearse to thee here. Nor thou shalt favour no man nor woman, young nor old, that holdeth any these foresaid opinions: but after thy knowledge and power, thou shalt force thee to withstand all such distroublers of holy Church in every diocesse, that thou commest in: and them that will not leave their false and damnable opinions, thou shalt put them up, publishing them and their names, and make them knowne to the bishop of the dioces that they are in, or to the bishops ministers. And over this I will that thou preach no more unto the time that I know by good witnesse and true, that thy conversation be such, that thy heart and thy mouth accord truely in one, contrarying all the leaud learning that thou hast taught here before.

And I hearing these words, thought in my heart, that this was an unlefull asking; and deemed myselfe cursed of God, if I consented hereto, and I thought how Susan said, [9]*anguish is to mee on every side.* And in that I stood still and spake not, the archbishop said to mee, Answere one wise or

[9] *How Susan said.*] "Then Susanna sighed, and said, I am straitened on every side: for if I do this thing, it is death unto me: and if I do it not, I cannot escape your hands." *Hist. of Susanna*, v. 22.

other.

other. And I said, Sir, if I consented to you thus as yee have here before rehearsed to mee, I should become an appealer[1], or every bishops espie, somoner of all England. For and I should thus put up, and publish the names of men and women, I should herein deceive full many persons: Yea sir, as it is likely by the dome of my conscience, I should herein bee cause of the death both of men and women, yea both bodilie and ghostly. For many men and women that stand now in the way of salvation, if I should, for the learning and reading of their beleeve, publish them therefore up to the bishops or to their unpiteous ministers, I know some deale by experience that they should be so distrouoled and diseased with persecution or otherwise, that many of them (I thinke) would rather chuse to forsake the way of truth than to be travelled, scorned, slandered, or punished, as bishops and their ministers now use for to constraine men and women to consent to them.

But I find in no place in holy Scripture, that this office that ye would now infeaffe me with, accordeth to any priest of Christs sect, nor to any other Christian man: and therfore to doe this, were to me a full noious bond to be bounden with, and over grievous charge. For I suppose, that if I thus did, many men and women would, yea sir, might justly to my confusion say to me, that I were a

[1] *I should become an appealer.*] An appealer is "one who hath committed some felony, or other crime, which he confesses, and now *appeals*, that is, accuses others who were complices with him." Blount's *Law-Dictionary*, v. Appellor. It is explained somewhat differently in the preceding Life of Wickliffe, p. 91, "according to the manner then of certaine theeves that were named Appellatores, accusers or peachers of others which were guiltless."

A Summoner "is a small officer that calls or cites men to any court." Blount, in V.

traytor,

traytor to God and to them: since (as I thinke in mine heart) many men and women trust so mille in this case, that I would not for saving of my l . doe thus to them. For if I thus should doe, full many men and women would (as they might full truly) say that I had falsly and cowardly forsaken the truth, and slandered shamefullie the word of God. For if I consented to you to doe heere, after your will, for honchefe or mischiefe that may befall unto me in this life, I deme in my conscience, that I were worthie herefore to bee cursed of God and also of all his Saints: fro which inconvenience, keep me and all christian people, almightie God now and ever for his holy name!

And then the archbishop said unto mee, Oh, thine heart is full hard indurate, as was the heart of Pharao. and the divell hath overcomen thee, and perverted thee, and hee hath so blinded thee in all thy wit, that thou hast no grace to know the truth, nor the measure of mercie that I have profered to thee. Therfore, as I perceive now by thy foolish answere, thou hast no will to leave thine old errors.

But I say to thee leaud losell, other quicklie consent thou to mine ordinance and submit thee to stand to my decrees; or by Saint Thomas thou shalt be degraded, and follow thy fellow[2] into Smithfield. And at this saying, I stood still and spake not, but I thought in mine hart that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercie bring me to such an end. And in mine heart I was nothing afraid with this manasing of the archbishop. And I considered there two things in him. One, that he was not yet sorrowfull for that hee had made William Sautre wrongfully to bee burnt;

[2] *Follow thy fellow.*] "He meaneth God's martyr, William Sautrey." Fox.

and as I considered[3], that the archbishop thirsted yet after more shedding out of innocent bloud. And fast therefore I was mooved in all my wits, for to hold the archbishop neither for prelate nor for priest of God. And for that mine inward man was thus altogether departed from the archbishop, me thought I should not have any dread of him. But I was right heavie and sorrowfull, for that there was no audience of secular men by[4]: but in my heart I prayed the Lord God, for to comfort me and strength me against them that there were against the soothfastnesse. And I purposed to speake no more to the archbishop and his clerks than me need behooved: and all thus I praide God for his goodnesse to give mee then and alway grace to speake, with a meeke and an easie spirit: and whatsoever thing that I should speake, that I might thereto have true authorities of Scriptures, or open

[3] *And* as *I considered.*] Perhaps we should read "and *als* (also) I considered."

[4] *No audience of secular men by.*] The company, besides the Archbishop, consisted of one beneficed Clerk, a Physician, and two others Civilians. Thorpe's disappointment on this account is fully illustrated by a passage in Barlowe's *Dialogue concerning the Lutheran Factions*, written about the year 1530, against the principles and practices of the Reformers, and reprinted in the beginning of the reign of Q. Mary by the Popish party, when Barlowe had again returned to the side of the reformation. "*William.* Thoughe they do fall in harme, yet have they hope to wynne theyr favour, or els why are they so desyrous to have so many *ley men* present at their examinations? *Nicholas.* They make of it a reasonable cause for two considerations. One is to the intent they might not be wrongefully oppressed in corners; another is, because they would that people shulde bear witnes of their constancy in confessynge the trouthe for Christes sake. *William.* These consyderations in theym, yf they were true as thei be false; were yet of small efficacite, and against the evangelike perfection. As, touchynge the fyrste, &c." Signat. H. 8. edit. 1553.

reason

reason. And for that I stood thus still and nothing spake, one of the archbishops clerke said unto me; What thing musest thou? Do thou as my lord hath now commanded to thee here.

And yet I stood still and answered him not: and then soone after, the archbishop said to me, Art thou not yet bethought, whether thou wilt do as I have said to thee? And I said then to him, Sir, my father and my mother, (on whose soules God have mercie, if it be his will), spent mikle monie in divers places about my learning, for the intent to have made mee a priest to God. But when I came to yeeres of discretion, I had no will to be priest, and therefore my friends were right heavie to mee; and then mee thought their grudging against me was so painefull to me, that I purposed therefore to have left their companie. And when they perceived this in me, they spake sometime full faire and pleasant words to mee: But for that they might not make me to consent of good heart to bee a priest, they spake to me full oftentimes very grievous words, and manased mee in divers manners, shewing to mee full heavie cheere. And thus one while in faire manner, another while in grievous, they were long time (as me thought) full busie about me, or I consented[5] to them to be a priest.

But at the last, when in this matter they would no longer suffer mine excusations, but either I should consent to them, or I should ever beare their indignation, yea, their curse (as they said) then I seeing this, prayed them that they would give me licence for to goe to them that were named wise priests, and of vertuous conversation, to have their

[5] *Or I consented*] In old English, (says Lye in Junius's *Etymologicum*, v. *ere*.), the words *ere* and *or* are used indiscriminately.

counsell,

counsell, and to know of them the office and the charge of priesthood. And hereto, my father and my mother consented full gladly, and gave me their blessing and good leave to goe, and also money to spend in this journie. And so that I went to those priests whom I heard to be of best name, and of most holy living, and best learned, and most wise of heavenly wisdome: and so I communed with them unto the time, that I perceived by their vertuous and continuall occupations, that their honest and charitable works passed their fame which I had heard before of them.

Wherefore sir, by the example of the doctrine of them, and speciallie for the godly and innocent workes which I perceived then of them, and in them, after my cunning and power, I have exercised me then and in this time, to know perfectlie Gods law, having a will and desire to live thereafter, which willeth that all men and women should exercise themselves faithfully thereabout. If then sir, either for pleasure of them that are neither so wise, nor of so vertuous conversation to my knowledge, nor by common fame to any other mens knowledge in this land, as these men were of whom I tooke my counsell and information, I should now forsake thus suddenlie and shortlie, and unwarned, all the learning that I have exercised my selfe in these thirtie Winters and more, my conscience should ever be herewith out of measure unquieted; and as sir I know wel, many men and women should be therthrough greatly troubled and slandered. And as I said sir, to you before, for mine untruth and false cowardnesse, many a one should bee put into full great reproofe: yea sir, I dread that many one (as they might then justly) would curse me full bitterlie: and sir I feare not, but the curse of God, which I should deserve herein, would bring

bring me to a full evill end, if I continued thus. And if through remorse of conscience I repented me any time, returning into the way, which ye do your diligence to constraine mee now to forsake; yea sir, all the bishops of this land, with full many other priests, would defame me, and pursue me as a relapse; and they that now have (though I be unworthy) some confidence in me, hereafter would never trust to me, though I could teach and live never so vertuouslie, more than I can or may. For if after your counsell I left utterly all my learning, I should heereby first wound and defile mine owne soule, and also I should herethrough give occasion to many men and women of full sore hurting: yea sir as it is likely to mee, if I consented to your will, I should herein by mine evill example in it, as farre as in mee were, slea many folke ghostly, so that I should never deserve for to have grace of God, to the edifying of his Church, neither of my selfe, nor of none other mans life, and should be undone both before God and man.

But sir, by example chiefly of some, whose names I will not now rehearse, of H. of I. P. and B[6]. and also by the present doing of Philip Rampington[7], that now is become Bishop of Lincolne; I am now learned (as many moe hereafter through Gods grace shall be learned) to hate and to flee all such slander that these foresaid men chiefle have defiled,

[6] *Of H. of I. P. and B.*] These initials probably denote Nicolas Herford (Fox. p. 461.); John Purvey (Fox. p. 498.); and John Becket. (Fox. p. 485. Wilkins's *Concil.* Vol. iii. p. 247.)

[7] *Philip Rampington.*] Repington, Bishop of Lincoln, received the nick-name of Rampington from the Lollards, on account probably, of the vehemence of his persecution against them. See Life of Wickliffe, p. 77, "Philip Repington, otherwise called of the brethren afterward Rampington."

prin-

principallie themselves with; and in it that in them is, they have envenomed al the church of God. For the slanderous revoking at the crosse of Pauls, of H. P. and of B. and how now Philip Rampington pursueth Christs people; and the faining that these men dissemble by worldly prudence, keeping them cowardlie in their preaching and communing within the bonds and tearmes (which without blame may be spoken and shewed out to the most worldly livers) will not bee unpunished of God. For to the point of truth that these men shewed out sometime, they will not now stretch forth their lines. But by example, each one of them as their words and their works shew, busie them through their faining, for to slander, and to pursue Christ in his members, rather than they will be pursued.

And the archbishop said to me, These men the which thou speakest of now, were fooles and heretikes, when they were counted wise men of thee and other such losels. But now they are wise men, though thou and such other deeme them unwise. Nevertheles I wist never none that right said, that any while were envenomed with your contagiousnesse, that is contaminated and spotted doctrine.

And I said to the archbishop, Sir, I thinke well that these men and such other are now wise as to this world: But as their words sounded sometime, and their works shewed outwardly, it was like to move mee that they had earnest of the wisedome of God, and that they should have deserved mikle grace of God, to have saved their owne soules and many other mens, if they had continued faithfully in wilfull povertie, and in other simple vertuous living: and speciallie if they had with these foresaid vertues continued in their busie fruitfull sowing of Gods word: as to many mens knowledge they occupied them a season in all their wits, full

busily to know the pleasant wil of God, travelling all their members ful busilie for to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the praising of the most holy name of God, and for grace of edification and salvation of Christian people. But wo worth false covetise, and evill counsell and tyrannie, by which they and many men and women are led blindly into an evill end.

Then the archbishop said unto mee, Thou, and such other losels of thy sect, would shave your beards full neere for to have a benefice. For by Jesu, I know none more covetous shrewes then ye are, when that ye have a benefice. For loe, I gave to John Purvie a benefice but a mile out of this castle, and I heard more complaints about his covetousness, for tithes, and other misdoings, then I did of all men that were advanced within my diocesse.

And I said to the archbishop, Sir, Purvie is neither with you now for the benefice that you gave him, nor he holdeth faithfully with the learning that hee taught and writ before time; and thus hee sheweth himselfe neither to be hot nor cold: and therefore he and his fellowes, may sore dread, that if they turne not hastily to the way that they have forsaken, peradventure they be put out of the number of Christs chosen people.

And the archbishop said, Though Purvie bee now a false harlot [8], I quit mee now to him: But come

[8] *A false harlot.*] A similar use of this term is by no means infrequent in the old writers. We shall meet with it again in the progress of this examination. And in a *Dialogue between Eusebius and Theophilus* signat, b. 6. b. (12mo. 1556.) Eusebius, the advocate of the *old religion*, says, "Well, sir, then harken: first we are come to this poynt that betweene us is stryfe, whether we catholikes be the true church of Christ, and you protestaunts false prophetes, or ele we the *false harlottes* and

come hee more for such cause before me, or we part, I shall know with whom hee holdeth. But I say to thee, which are these holy men and wise, of whom thou hast taken thine information?

And I said, Sir, master John Wickliffe was holden of full many men, the greatest clerke that they knew then living, and therewith hee was named a passing rulie man and an innocent in his living: and herefore, great men communed oft with him, and they loved so his learning, that they writ it, and busilie inforced them to rule themselves thereafter. Therefore sir, this foresaid learning of M. John Wickliffe, is yet holden of full many men and women, the most agreeable

and you the trewe men." So also in Fox's *Acts*, p. 497. p. 1109, and p. 1855. Lewis's *Hist. of Wickliffe*, p. 128, &c. Respecting the *origin*, or at least the *history* of the name, Fox gives us some particulars, which, I am inclined to believe, are much better founded, than the common derivation suggested by Lambard in his Perambulation of Kent, p. 178. Junius in his Etymologicum, and by other writers.

"About this time," that is, in the concluding years of the reign of Henry III. "a redresse of certaine sects was intended; among which, one by name speciallie occurreth, and called the assemblie of *harlots*; a kind of people of a leaud disposition and uncivill. Of whose manners and life the king having beene informed, addressed his letters to the shiriffe of Oxfordshire, a place which they haunted, and wherein they practised their evill conversation: whose letter here followeth.

"Because we understand that there be certaine vagrant persons which *call themselves* harlots, maintaining idlenesse in divers parts of our realme, most shamelesselie making their meetings, assemblies, and unlawfull matches against the honestie of the church and good maners, which abuse we will not, neither ought we to suffer. We charge, &c. &c.

"What maner of persons these were, or what their conversation was, it doth not further appeare; nevertheless by the premisses it may seeme to be some pretenced order of religion. And it is most probable that the reprochful name of *harlot* had his beginning from hence." Fox's *Acts*, p. 305.

learning unto the living and teaching of Christ and of his Apostles, and most openly shewing and declaring how the church of Christ hath been and yet should bee ruled and governed. Therefore, so many men and women covet this learning, and purpose, through Gods grace, to conforme their living like to this learning of Wickliffe. M. John Ashton taught and writ accordingly, and full busily, where and when, and to whom that he might, and he used it himselfe right perfectly unto his lives end. And also Philip of Rampington, while he was a canon of Leicester, Nicolas Herford, Davie Gotraie of Pakring, monke of Byland, and a master of divinitie, and John Purvay, and many other which were holden right wise men and prudent, taught and writ busilie this foresaid learning, and conformed them thereto. And with all these men I was right homely and communed with them long time and oft: and so before all other men I chose willinglie to be informed of them and by them, and specially of Wickliffe himselfe, as of the most vertuous and godly wise man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him speciallie, and of these men I tooke the learning that I have taught: and purpose to live thereafter (if God will) to my lives end. For though some of those men be contrarie to the learning that they taught before, I wot well that their learning was true which they taught: and therefore with the helpe of God I purpose to hold and to use the learning which I heard of them, while they sate on Moses chaire, and specially while that they sat on the chaire of Christ. But after the works that they now do, I wil not do with Gods helpe. For they faine, and hide, and contrarie the truth, which before they taught out plainely and truely. For as I know well, when some of those men have been blamed for their slanderous

slanderous doing, they grant not that they have taught amisse or erred before time, but that they were constrained by paine to leave to tell out the sooth; and thus they chuse now rather to blaspheme God, than to suffer a while here persecution bodily, for soothfastnesse that Christ shed out his heart bloud for.

And the archbishop said, That learning that thou callest truth and soothfastnesse, is open slander to holy church, as it is proved of holy church. For albeit, that Wickliffe your author was a great clerke, and though that many men held him a perfect liver; yet his doctrine is not approved of holy church, but many sentences of his learning are damned as they well worthie are. But as touching Philip of Rampington, that was first canon, and after abbat of Leicester, which is now bishop of Lincolne; I tell thee, that the day is commen, for which he fasted the eeven. For neither hee holdeth now, nor will hold, the learning that hee taught, when hee was a canon of Leicester. For no bishop of this land pursueth now more sharpely them that hold thy way, then he doth.

And I said, sir, full many men and women wondereth upon him, and speaketh him mikle shame, and holdeth him for a cursed enemie of the truth.

And the archbishop said to me, Wherfore tariest thou me thus here with such fables, wilt thou shortly (as I have said to thee) submit thee to me or no?

And I said, sir, I tell you at one word; I dare not for the dread of God submit me to you, after the tenor and sentence that yee have above rehearsed to me.

And thus as if hee had been wroth, hee said to one of his clerks, Fetch hither quickly, the certification

cation that came to me from Shrewesburie under the bailiffes seale, witnessing the errors and heresies, which this losell hath venumously sowne there.

Then hastilie the clerke tooke out and laid forth on a cupbord, divers roles and writings, among which there was a little one, which the clerke delivered to the archbishop. And by and by the archbishop read this roll containing this sentence.

"The third Sunday after Easter, the yeere of our Lord 1407, William Thorpe came unto the towne of Shrewesburie, and through leave granted unto him to preach, he said openly in S. Chad's church in his sermon,

That the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, was materiall bread;

And that images, should in no wise be worshipped.

And that men should not go on pilgrimages.

And that priests have no title to tithes.

And that it is not lawfull for to sweare in any wise."

And when the archbishop had read thus this roll, he rolled it up againe, and said to me, Is this wholesome learning to be among the people?

And I said to him, sir, I am both ashamed on their behalfe, and right sorrowfull for them that have certified you these things thus untruely: for I preached never, nor taught thus, privily nor apertly.

And the archbishop said to me, I will give credence to these worshipfull men which have written to me, and witnessed under their seales there among them. Though now thou deniest this, weenest thou that I shall give credence to thee? Thou Losell, hast troubled the worshipfull communaltie of Shrewesburie, so that the bailiffes and comminaltie

comminaltie of that towne have written to me, praying me that am archbishop of Canturbury primat and chancellor of England, that I will vouchsafe to grant them, that if thou shalt be made (as thou art worthie) to suffer open jouresse[9] for thine heresies, that thou may have thy jouresse openly there among them: So that all they whom thou and such other losels have there perverted, may through feare of thy deed be reconciled againe to the unitie of holie church. And also they that stand in true faith of holie church, may through thy deed be more established therein. And as if this asking well pleased the archbishop, he said, By my thrift, this heartie prayer, and fervent request, shall be thought on.

But certainlie, nother the prayer of the men of Shrewesburie, nor the manasing of the archbishop made mee any thing afraid. But in rehearsing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my heart greatly rejoiced, and yet doth. I thanke God for the grace that I then thought, and yet thinke shall come to all the church of God here thorow, by the speciall mercifull doing of the Lord. And as having no dread of the malice of tyrants, by trusting steadfastlie in the helpe of the Lord, with full purpose for to knowledge the soothfastnesse, and to stand thereby after my cunning and power, I said to the archbishop, Sir, if the truth of Gods word might now be accepted as it should be, I doubt

9 *Open* jouresse.] I am unable to give any explanation what *jouresse* means, unless the conjecture may be admitted, that it is no other than the word *duresse*, imprisonment, *durance*. And this conjecture seems to be confirmed by the concluding paragraph of this account of Thorpe; where it is said, "it remaineth most like to be true, that hee being committed to some strait *prison*, *according as the archbishop* in *his examination before did threaten him*, there was so straitly kept, &c."

not

not to prove by likelie evidence, that they that are famed to be out of the faith of holie church in Shrewesbury, and in other places also, are in the true faith of holy church. For as their words sound, and their works shew to mans judgement (dreading and loving faithfully God) their will, their desire, their love and their busines are most set to dread to offend God, and to love for to please him in true and faithfull keeping of his commandements. And again, they that are said to be in the faith of holie church in Shrewesburie and in other places, by open evidence of their proud, envious, malicious, covetous, and other foule words and workes, neither know, nor have will to know, nor to occupie their wits truelie and effectuouslie in the right faith of holie church. Wherefore all these, nor none that follow their manners, shall any time come verily in the faith of holy church, except they inforce them more truely to come in the way which now they despise. For these men and women that are now called faithfull and holden just, nother know, nor will exercise themselfe to know (of faithfulnesse) one commandement of God.

And thus full many men and women now, and speciallie men that are named to be principall lims of holy church, stir God to great wrath, and deserve his curse for that they call or hold them, just men, which are ful unjust, as their vitious words, their great customable swearing, and their slanderous and shamefull works shew openly and witnesse. And therefore such vitious men and unjust in their owne confusion, call them unjust men and women, which after their power and cunning busie themselves to live justly after the commandement of God. And where sir, ye say, that I have distroubled the communaltie of Shrewesburie, and

and many other men and women with my teaching, if it thus bee, it is not to bee wondered of wise men, since all the communaltie of the citie of Jerusalem was distroubled of Christ's owne person, that was very God and man, and the most prudent preacher that ever was or shall be. And also all the synagogue of Nazareth was mooved against Christ, and so full filled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the synagogue rose up and cast Christ out of their citie, and led him up to the top of a mountaine for to cast him downe there headlong. Also accordingly hereto, the Lord witnesseth by Moses, that *he shall put dissension betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and pursueth his people.* Who sir is he, that shall preach the truth of Gods word to the unfaithful people, and shall let the soothfastnesse of the gospell, and the prophecie of God Almightie to be fulfilled?

And the archbishop said to me, It followeth of these thy words, that thou and such other thinkest, that yee doe right wel for to preach and teach as yee doe, without authoritie of any bishop[1]. For you

[1] *Without authoritie of any bishop.*] Among the celebrated constitutions of archbishop Arundel, agreed upon in a convocation holden at Oxford in the year 1407, and promulgated a second time by a convocation at St. Paul's, London, in the year following; it was enacted, in further prosecution of a law passed in parliament, A. D. 1400, "That no clerk, secular or regular, unless *authorized by law, or special privilege*, should preach to the people or clergy in Latin, or in the vulgar tongue, within a church, or without, unless he be first examined by the diocesan, and being found qualified both in manners and learning, be sent by him to preach to some certain parish or parishes, as to the same ordinary shall seem expedient." Wilkins's *Concil.* iii. p. 306. and 315. The words "law or special privilege" were designed to protect the powers granted by the see of Rome to the respective orders of friars; but

you presume, that the Lord hath chosen you only for to preach, as faithfull disciples and speciall followers of Christ.

And I said, sir, by authoritie of Gods law, and also of saints and doctors I am learned to deeme, that it is every priests office and dutie for to preach busily, freely and truely the word of God. For no doubt every priest should propose first in his soule, and covet to take the order of priesthood chiefly for to make knowne to the people the word of God, after his cunning and power; approving his words ever to be true by his vertuous workes: and for this intent we suppose that bishops and other prelats of holy church, should chieflie take and use their prelacie, and for the same cause bishops should give to priests their orders. For bishops should accept no man to priesthood, except that he had good wil and full purpose, and were wel disposed, and wel learned to preach. Wherefore sir, by bidding of Christ, and by the example of his most holy living, and also by the witnessing of his holie apostles and prophets, wee are bound under full great paine, to exercise us after our cunning and power (as every priest is likewise

but these, not being always treated with due honour by the secular clergy, were more amply confirmed to them by a declaration published by the archbishop in the year 1409. (Wilkins iii. p. 324); and thus, while the parochial clergy were subject to very severe restrictions, the mendicant orders had liberty to preach where, and when, and how, they pleased. And as Thorpe said in another work, "Heremites and pardoners, ankerers, and strange beggars, are licensed and admitted of prelats and priests, for to beguile the people with flatterings and leasings slanderously, against all good reason and true beliefe, and so to increase divers vices in themselves, and also among all them that accept them, or consent to them." Thorpe's *Testament* in Fox's Acts, p. 499, 500.

charged

charged of God) to fulfill duly the office of priesthood. We presume not here of our selves for to bee esteemed (neither in our owne reputation nor in none other mans) faithfull disciples, and speciall followers of Christ. But sir, as I said to you before, wee deeme this, by authoritie chiefly of Gods word, that it is the chiefe dutie of every priest, to busie him faithfullie to make the law of God knowne to his people; and so to commune the the commandements of God charitablie, how that we may best, where, when, and to whom that ever we may: and for the wil and businesse that we owe of due debt to do justlie our office through the stirring and speciall helpe (as we trust) of God, hoping stedfastlie in his mercie, wee desire to be the faithfull disciples of Christ, and we pray this gratious Lord for his holie name, that he make us able to please him with devout prayers, and charitable priestly works, that we may obtaine of him to follow him thankefully.

And the archbishop said to me, Leaud lozel, whereto makest thou such vaine reasons to me? Asketh not saint Paul, how should priests preach, except they be sent? But I sent thee never to preach. For thy venomous doctrin is so known throughout England, that no bishop will admit thee to preach by witnessing of their letters. Why then leaud idiot, wilt thou presume to preach, since thou art not sent nor licenced of thy soveraigne to preach? Saith not saint Paul, *that subjects* [2] *ought to obey their soveraignes, and not*

[2] *That subjects.*] The relative term *subject* and *sovereign* were in these times very frequently used in the sense of *inferior minister* and prelate; or of *layman*, and *clerk*; and it is in this *ecclesiastical* meaning that the archbishop understands and applies the text of St. Paul.

onely good and vertuous, but also tyrants that are vitious?

And I said to the archbishop, sir, as touching your letter of licence or other bishops, which, yee say, wee should have to witnesse that we were able to be sent for to preach; we know well that neither you sir, nor any other bishop of this land, will grant to us any such letters of licence, but if we should oblige us to you, and to other bishops by unlefull othes, for to passe not the bounds and termes which ye sir, or other bishops, will limit to us. And since in this matter your termes bee some too large, and some too strait, wee dare not oblige us thus to be bounden to you for to keepe the termes, which you will limit to us, as you doe to friers and such other preachers: and therefore, though we have not your letter sir, nor letters of any other bishops written with inke upon parchment; wee dare not therefore leave the office of preaching, to which preaching, all priests after their cunning and power are bound, by divers testimonies of Gods law, and great doctors, without any mention making of bishops letters. For as mikle as wee have taken upon us the office of priesthood (though we are unworthy thereto) we claim and purpose to fulfill it with the help of God, by authoritie of his owne law, and by witnesse of great doctors and saints, accordingly hereto trusting stedfastly in the mercie of God. For that he commandeth us to doe the office of priesthood, he will be our sufficient letters and witnesse, if we by example of his holy living and teaching, speciallie occupie us faithfullie to doe our office justlie: yea the people to whom we preach (be they faithfull or unfaithfull) shall be our letters, that is, our witnes-bearers; for the truth where it is sowne, may not be unwitnessed. For all that are converted and saved by

learning of Gods word, and by working thereafter, are witnesse-beareres, that the truth and soothfastnes, which they heard and did after, is cause of their salvation. And again, all unfaithfull men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not doe thereafter; also all they that might have heard the truth, and would not heare it, because that they would not doe thereafter: all these shall beare witnes against themselves; and the truth which they would not heare, or else heard it, and despised to doe thereafter, through their unfaithfulnesse, is and shall be cause of their damnation. Therefore sir, since this aforesaid witnessing of God, and of divers saints and doctors, and of all the people good and evill, sufficeth to all true preachers, we think that we do not the office of priesthood, if that we leave our preaching, because that we have not, or may not have duly bishops letters, to witnesse that wee are sent of them to preach. This sentence approveth saint Paul, where he speaketh of himselfe and of faithfull apostles and disciples, saying thus, *We need no letters of commendations as some preachers doe, which preach for covetousnesse of temporall goods, and for mens praysing.* And where ye say sir, that Paul biddeth subjects obey their soveraignes, that is sooth, and may not be denied. But there is two manner of soveraignes, vertuous soveraignes and vitious tyrants. Therefore, to these last soveraignes, neither men nor women that be subject, owe to obey in two maners. To vertuous soveraignes and charitable, subjects owe to obey wilfully and gladlie, in hearing of their good counsell, in consenting to their charitable biddings, and in working after their fruitfull works. This sentence Paul approveth, where he saith to subjects, *Be yee mindful of your soveraignes, that speake to you the*

word

word of God, and follow you the faith of them, whose conversation you know to be vertuous. For as Paul saith after, these soveraignes, to whom subjects owe to obey in following of their maners, worke busilie in holy studying, how they may withstand and destroy vices, first in themselves, and after in all their subjects, and how they may best plant in them vertues. Also these soveraignes make devout and fervent prayers, for to purchase grace of God, that they and their subjects may over all things dread to offend him, and love for to please him. Also these souveraignes to whom Paul biddeth us obey, as it is said before, live so vertuouslie, that all they that will live well, may take of them good example, to know and to keepe the commandements of God. But in this foresaid wise, subjects ought not to obey nor to be obedient to tyrants, while they are vitious tyrants, since their will, their counsell, their biddings, and their works are so vitious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though such tyrants be masterfull and cruell in boasting and menacing, in oppressions and divers punishings, saint Peter biddeth the servants of such tyrants, to obey meekely such tyrants, suffering patiently their malitious cruelnesse. But Peter counselleth not any servant or subject, to obey to any lord or prince, or soveraigne in any thing that is not pleasing to God.

And the archbishop said unto me, if a soveraigne bid his subject doe that thing that is vitious, this soveraigne herein is to blame; but the subject for his obedience, deserveth meed [3] of God. For

[3] *Deserveth meed.*] The archbishop here speaks precisely according to the doctrine afterwards inforced by bishop Pecock, who, though himself a severe sufferer in the cause of reformation,

For obedience pleaseth more to God, then any sacrifice.

And I said, Samuel the prophet said to Saul the wicked king, that God was more pleased with the obedience of his commandement, than with any sacrifice of beasts. But David saith, and S. Paul, and S. Gregorie accordinglie together, that not only they that doe evill, are worthy of death and damnation; but also they that consent to evill doers. And sir, the law of holy church teacheth in the decrees, that no servant to his lord, nor child to the father or mother, nor wife to her husband, nor monke to his abbat, ought to obey, except in lefull things, and lawfull[4].

And the archbishop said to mee, All these alleagings that thou bringest forth, are not else but proud presumptuousnesse. For hereby thou

reformation, was a very zealous, and a most able and learned adversary of many tenets of the followers of Wickliffe.

"If a parish priest should teach his parishioner some grosse heresy instead of an article of faith, it were his duty to receive it, and would not only be excusable before God, but would be as *meritorious*, and equally *rewarded*, with the belief of any true article. Nay, if that man should lay down his life for defence of this heresy, imagining all this while that it is the doctrine of the church, he would be a true and undoubted martyr." *Rule of Faith*, p. 4, written A. D. 1450, and published by Henry Wharton, A. D. 1688, from a MS. in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

4 *In lefal things, and lawfull.*] We have the same two words again made use of together in this examination; "to compell him to sweare, in *lefull* things and *lawfull*." Fox, p. 495. The former occurs not unfrequently by itself, and seeming in the sense of *lawful*. "Rich men sayen, that it is both *lefull* and needfull to them to gather riches together." Fox, p. 372. Also, p. 431, and p. 434. Perhaps it is no other than the word "*leave-full*," allowable, permissible. "Therefore it is *leveful* to each man or person of this singular religion and profession to leave it (to) cleave fast to the rule of Jesu Christ, as more perfect." Wickliffe's *Complaint*, p. 2, A. D. 1608.

inforcest thee to proove, that thou and such other are so just, that ye ought not to obey to prelats. And thus against the learning of St. Paul that teacheth you not to preach, but if yee were sent, of your own authoritie, ye will go forth and preach, and doe what yee list.

And I said, sir, presenteth not every priest the office of the apostles, or the office of the disciples of Christ? And the archbishop said, yea. And I said, sir, as the x. chapter of Matthew, and the last chapter of Marke witnesseth, Christ sent his apostles for to preach. And the x. chapter of Luke witnesseth, that Christ sent his two and seventy disciples for to preach, in every place that Christ was to come to; and S. Gregorie in the Common Law saith, that every man that goeth to priesthood, taketh upon him the office of preaching. For as hee saith, that priest stirreth God to great wrath, of whose mouth is not heard the voice of preaching. And as other more glosses upon Ezekiel, witnesse, the priest that preacheth not busilie to the people, shall be partaker of their damnation that perish through his default. And though the people be saved by other speciall grace of God, than by the priests preaching, yet the priests, in that they are ordained to preach, and preach not, as before God, they are manslayers. For as farre as in them is, such priests as preach not busilie and truely, slay all the people ghostly, in that they withhold from them the word of God, that is, the life and substance of mens soules. And S. Isidore said, priests shall be damned, for wickednesse of the people, if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are sinners. For all the worke or businesse of priests standeth in preaching and teaching: that they edifie all men, as well by cunning

of

of faith, as by discipline of works, that is vertuous teaching. And as the Gospel witnesseth, Christ said in his teaching, *I am borne and comen into this world, to bear witnesse to the truth; and he that is of the truth, heareth my voice.*

Then Sir, since by the word of Christ specially, that is, his voice, priests are commanded to preach, whatsoever priest that it be, that hath not good will and full purpose to doe thus, and ableth not himselfe after his cunning and power to doe his office by the example of Christ and of his apostles; whatsoever other thing that he doth, displeaseth God. For lo, Saint Gregorie saith, that thing left, that a man is bound chiefly to doe, whatsoever other thing that man doth, it is unthankfull to the Holy Ghost: And therefore saith Lincolne[5], the priest that preacheth not the word of God, though he be seene to have none other default, he is Antichrist and Sathanas, a night theef, and a day theefe, a sleyer of soules, and an angell of light turned into darkenesse. Wherefore sir, these authorities and other well considered, I deeme my selfe damnable, if I either for pleasure or displeasure of any creature, apply mee not diligently to preach the word of God. And in the same damnation I deeme all those priests, which of good purpose and will, enforce them not busily to doe thus, and also all them that have purpose or will to let any priest of this businesse.

And the archbishop said to those three clerks that stood before him: Loe sirs, this is the maner and businesse of this losell and such other, to picke out such sharpe sentences of holy scripture and doctors, to maintaine their sect and lore against the ordinance of holy church. And therefore

[5] *Saith Lincolne.*] Robert Grosthed, Bishop of Lincoln.

Losell, it is that thou covetest to have againe the Psalter that I made to bee taken from thee at Canturbury, to record sharpe verses against us. But thou shalt never have that Psalter, nor none other booke, till that I know that thy heart and thy mouth accord fully, to be governed by holy church.

And I said: Sir, all my will and power is, and ever shall be (I trust to God) to be governed by holy church.

And the archbishop asked me, what was holy church?

And I said: Sir, I told you before, what was holy church. But since ye aske me this demand; I call Christ and his saints holy church.

And the archbishop said unto me: I wot well that Christ and his saints are holy church in heaven, but what is holy church in earth?

And I said: Sir, though holy church be every one in charitie, yet it hath two parts. The first and principall part, hath overcomen perfectly all the wretchednesse of this life, and raigneth joyfully in heaven with Christ. And the other part is here yet in earth, busily and continually fighting day and night against temptations of the fiend; forsaking and hating the prosperity of this world; despising and withstanding their fleshly lusts; which onely are the pilgrims of Christ, wandring toward heaven by stedfast faith and grounded hope, and by perfect charitie. For these heavenly pilgrimes, may not, nor will not, be letted of their good purpose, by the reason of any doctors discording from holy Scripture; nor by the flouds of any tribulation temporall, nor by the wind of any pride, of boast, or of manassing of any creature: For they are all fast grounded upon the sure stone Christ, hearing his word and loving it, exercising them faithfully and continually in all their wits to doe thereafter.

And

And the archbishop said to his clerks: See yee not how his heart is indurate, and how he is travelled with the divell occupying him thus busiliy to alleage such sentences to maintaine his errors and heresies? Certaine, thus he would occupie us here all day, if we would suffer him.

One of the clerks answered: Sir, he said right now, that this certification that came to you from Shrewesbury, is untruly forged against him. Therefore sir, appose you him now here in all the points which are certified against him, and so we shall heare of his owne mouth his answers, and witnes them.

And the archbishop tooke the certification in his hand, and looked thereon a while, and then he said to me.

Loe here it is certified against thee by worthy men and faithfull of Shrewesburie, that thou preachedst there openly in S. Chad's church; that the sacrament of the altar was materiall bread after the consecration; what saist thou? Was this truly preached?

And I said: Sir, I tell you truely, that I touched nothing there of the sacrament of the altar, but in this wise, as I will with God's grace tell you here. As I stood there in the pulpit, busying me to teach the commandement of God; there knilled a sacring bell, and therefore mickle people turned away hastily, and with noise ran fro towards me. And I seeing this, said to them thus: Good men yee were better to stand here still and to heare God's word. For certes the vertue and the meede of the most holy sacrament of the altar standeth mikle more in the beleefe thereof that ye ought to have in your soule, then it doth in the outward sight thereof. And therefore, yee were better to stand still quietly to heare Gods word, because that

through the hearing thereof, men come to very true beleefe. And otherwise sir, I am certaine I spake not there of the worthy sacrament of the altar.

And the archbishop said to me, I beleeve thee not whatsoever thou saist, since so worshipfull men have witnessed thus against thee. But since thou deniest that thou saidest thus there, what saist thou now? Resteth there after the consecration in the host, materiall bread or no[6]?

[6] *Materiall bread, or no.*] This question was the grand test of heresy on the doctrine of the Eucharist, at this period. In the examinations of Lord Cobham we shall find that he was required "to answere, *specially* unto this point: whether there remained material bread in the sacrament of the Altar, after the words of consecration, or not?" Fox. p. 516. In the Life of Wickliffe, p. 47. note (6) we saw the gross determination which the question received by his adversaries in the university of Oxford. The conduct of Thorpe here was regulated according to the same maxims which had been previously recommended by John Purvey.

"Therefore, when Anti-Christ or any of his shavelings doth aske of thee that art a simple Christian, whether that this sacrament be the very body of Christ or not, affirme thou it manifestly so to bee. And if he aske of thee whether it be *materiall bread*, or what other bread else, say thou, that it is such bread as Christ understood and meant by his proper word, and such bread as the holy Ghost meant in St. Paul, when he called that to be very bread which he brake; *and wade thou no further herein.* But yet, men of more knowledge and reason may more plainly convince the falsity of Anti-Christ, both in this matter, and in others, by the gift of the holy Ghost working in them. Notwithstanding, if those that be simple men will humbly hold and keepe the manifest and apparant words of the holie Scripture, and the plaine sense and meaning of the holy Ghost, and proceed no further, but humbly to commit that unto the spirit of God which passeth their understanding; then may they safely offer themselves to death, as true martyrs of Jesus Christ." Fox. p. 501. This modest reserve in giving answers on this and other abstruse and hazardous points of controversy, is ridiculed, at some length, in Barlowe's *Dialogue concerning Lutheran Factions.* Signat. I 1—I 2. Edit. 1553.

And

And I said; Sir, I know in no place in holy scripture where this terme materiall bread is written: and therefore sir, when I speake of this matter, I use not to speake of materiall bread.

Then the archbishop said to me; How teachest thou men to beleeve in this sacrament?

And I said; Sir, as I beleeve my self, so I teach other men.

He said; Tell out plainely thy beleefe thereof.

And I said, with my protestation; Sir, I beleeve that the night before that Christ Jesu would suffer (wilfully) passion for mankind on the morne after, hee tooke bread in his holy and most worshipfull hands, and lifting up his eies, and giving thanks to God his father, blessed this bread and brake it; and gave it to his disciples, saying to them: *Take and eate of this all you, this is my bodie.* And that this is and ought to bee all mens beleefe, Matthew, Marke, Luke, and Paul witnesseth. Other beleefe sir I have none, nor will have, nor teach: for I beleeve, that this sufficeth in this matter. For in this beleefe with Gods grace I purpose to live and die, knowledging as I beleeve and teach other men to beleeve, that the worshipfull sacrament of the altar, is the sacrament of Christs flesh and his blood, in forme of bread and wine.

And the archbishop said to mee; It is sooth, that this sacrament is very Christs bodie in forme of bread. But thou and thy sect teachest it to be substance of bread. Thinke you this true teaching?

And I said; Neither I, nor any other of the sect that yee damne, teach any otherwise then I have told you, nor beleeve otherwise to my knowing. Neverthelesse sir, I aske of you for charitie, that ye will tell me here plainely, how ye shall understand the text of Saint Paul, where he saith thus;

This

This thing feele you in your selfe that is in Christ Jesu, while he was in the forme of God. Sir, calleth not Paul here the forme of God, the substance or kind of God? Also sir, saith not the church in the Hours of the most blessed virgine[7] accordinglie hereto, where it is written thus? Thou author of health remember, that sometime thou tooke of the undefiled virgin, the forme of our bodie. Tell me for charitie therefore, whether the forme of our bodie, be called here the kind of our bodie or no?

And the archbishop said to me; Wouldest thou make mee to declare this text after thy purpose, since the church now hath determined, that there abideth no substance of bread after the consecration, in the sacrament of the altar? Beleevest thou not this ordinance of the church?

And I said; Sir, whatsoever prelates have ordained in the church, our beleefe standeth ever whole. I have not heard, that the ordinance of men under beleefe[8], should be put into beleefe.

And the archbishop said to me; If thou hast not learned this before, learne now to know that thou art out of beleefe; if in this matter and other, thou

[7] *Of the most blessed Virgine.*] The words here referred to are these,

"Memento, salutis auctor,
Quod nostri quondam corporis,
Ex illibata virgine,
Nascendo *formam* sumpseris."

[8] *Men under beleefe.*] That is, I have never been taught, that the *determinations* of men *under beleefe*, posterior in time, or rather *living under the obligation of obedience* to the articles of Christian faith, should be elevated into equal *authority* with those articles. The passage is sufficiently illustrated by a similar declaration of Lord Cobham: "And as of Images, I understand, that they be not *of beleeve*, but that they were ordained, *sith* (since) *the beleeve was given of Christ*, by sufference of the church." Fox, p. 515.

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beleevest not as the holy church beleeveth. What say doctors treating of this sacrament?

And I said; Sir, Saint Paul, that was a great doctor of holie church, speaking to the people, and teaching them in the right beleefe of this most holy sacrament, calleth it bread that we breake. And also in the Canon of the masse[9] after the consecration, this most worthy sacrament is called holie bread. And every priest in this land, after that he hath received this sacrament, saith in this wise; That thing that wee have taken with our mouth, we pray God that we may take it with a pure and cleane mind: That is as I understand, wee pray God that we may receive through very beleefe, this holy sacrament worthily. And sir, Saint Augustine saith; That thing that is seene, is bread; but that mens faith asketh to be informed of, is very Christs bodie. And also, Fulgence an ententife doctor[1] saith; As it were an error to say that Christ was but a substance, that is, very man, and not very God; or to say that Christ was very God, and not very man; so is it (this doctor saith) an errour to say, that the sacrament of the altar is but a substance; and also sir, accordingly hereto, in the secret of the mid masse[2] on Christmasse

[9] *Canon of the masse.*] In the whole of this paragraph, Thorpe closely follows the arguments of his master Wickliffe. See Lewis's *History of Wickliffe.* P. 79.

[1] *An ententife doctor.*] "Ententif. (Fr.); busie, earnest, intentive, &c." Cotgrave.

[2] *Secret of the mid masse.*] "Then after followeth a prayer secretly said, which is called the *secret of the Mass;* and that signifieth Christ's secret and privy conversation, which he kept with his disciples a little before his passion." Book of Ceremonies in Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials.* Vol. I. p. 287, records. The *fourth ferie (feria quarta) quatuor temporum Septembris* may be easily found in any Breviary. The *Quatuor tempora* denote the fasting-days in the *four* Ember weeks; which in September are the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday next after the 14th.

day,

day, it is written thus; Idem refulsit Deus, sic terrena substantia nobis conferat quod divinum est; which sentence sir, with the secret of the fourth ferie, quatuor temporum Septembris; I pray you sir declare here openly in English.

And the archbishop said to me, I perceive well enough where about thou art, and how the divell blindeth thee, that thou may not understand the ordinance of holy church, nor consent thereto. But I command thee now, answere me shortlie; Beleevest thou that after the consecration of this foresaid sacrament, there abideth substance of bread, or not?

And I said; Sir, as I understand, it is all one to grant or beleeve, that there dwelleth no substance of bread, and to grant and to beleeve, that this most worthie sacrament of Christs owne body is accident without subject. But sir, for as mikle as your asking passeth my understanding, I dare neither denie it nor grant it, for it is schoole matter, about which I busied mee never for to know: and therefore I commit this terme accidens sine subjecto, to those clerkes which delight them so in curious and subtle sophistry, because they determine oft so difficult and strange matters, and wade and wander so in them from argument to argument, with pro & contra, till that they wot not where they are, and understand not themselves. But the shame that these proud sophisters have to yeeld them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fooles; and to be concluded shamefully before God.

And the archbishop said to me; I purpose not to oblige thee to the subtle arguments of clerks, since thou art unable thereto: but I purpose to make thee obey to the determination of holy church.

And

And I said; Sir, by open evidence and great witnesse, a thousand yeere after the incarnation of Christ, the determination which I have here before you rehearsed, was accept of holy church[3] as sufficient to the salvation of all them that would beleeve it faithfully, and worke thereafter charitablie. But sir, the determination of this matter was brought in, since the feend was loosed[4] by frier Thomas Aquine, specially calling the most worshipfull sacrament of Christs owne bodie an accident without subject; which terme, since I know not that Gods law approoveth it in this matter, I dare not grant, but utterlie I denie to make this friers sentence, or any such other, my beleefe; doe with me God what thou wilt.

[3] *Was accept of holy church.*] This was expressly conceded, in after times, by the learned and candid Tonstall, bishop of Durham, in his book *De Eucharistia.* P. 45. A. D. 1554.

[4] *Since the feend was loosed.*] "And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is the devil and satan, *and bound him a thousand years*, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled: *and after that he must be loosed* a little season." Revelation, chap. xx. ver. 1—3. To this passage in the Apocalypse, reference is here made by Thorpe, as it was by Wickliffe and his followers, on many other occasions, as prophetical, first, of the purer ages of Christianity, and also of the corruptions which overspread the church in the second millenary after Christ's ascension. See Lewis's *History of Wickliffe*, p. 87 and 124. Fox. p. 365, 6.

The words which follow, viz. "Frier Thomas Aquine," are printed thus in all the editions of Fox, which I have had an opportunity of consulting; "Frier Thomas againe". The person intended is undoubtedly St. Thomas Aquinas; and the place cited may be found, *Summa Theolog:* part 3, quest. 75, art. 5. I apprehend, therefore, that the alteration of "againe" into "Aquine" will be easily allowed of.

And

And the archbishop said to me; Well, well, thou shalt say otherwise or that I leave thee.

But what saiest thou to this second point that is recorded against thee by worthie men of Shrewsburie, saying, that thou preachedst there, that images ought not to be worshipped in any wise?

And I said; Sir, I preached never thus, nor through Gods grace I will not at any time consent to think nor to say thus, neither privilie nor apertly. For loe, the Lord witnesseth by Moses, that the things which hee made were right good, and so then they were, and yet they are and shall be good and worshipfull in their kind. And therefore, to the end that God made them to, they are all praisable and worshipfull; and speciallie man that was made after the image and likenesse of God, is full worshipfull in his kind; yea, this holy image that is man, God worshippeth[5]. And herefore every

[5] *God worshippeth.*] Thus in bishop Pecock's Treatise on the Rule of Faith, p. 35. "this holi lyver after his death is accepted into salvacioun, and to be reverencid and worschipid and folowid as for a savyd soule, and moche lovyd and *worschipid of God.*"

The disputation between the archbishop and Thorpe upon this celebrated point, cannot be understood, without bearing in mind the ancient meaning of the word *worship*, of which we have traces still remaining in the marriage service, and in the word *worshipful*. It did by no means imply of itself so high a degree of reverence as we now usually apply to it. But as Tyndal says, "*worshipping* and *honouring*, these two termes are both one." Works, p. 269. The reader who is desirous of further information upon the controversy respecting image worship at the commencement, and in the earlier years of the reformation, will find much to his purpose by consulting Lewis's *Life of Pecock*. P. 79—114. Lewis's *History of Wickliffe*. P. 345—350. Fox. P. 369, 433, 518, 605—606. Tyndal's *Works*. P. 269—275. Burnes's *Works*. P. 335—355. Sir Thomas Mores's *Works*. P. 113—124, 187—203.

man

man should worship other, in kind, and also for heavenly vertues that men use charitably. And also I say, wood, tin, gold, silver, or any other matter that images are made of, all these creatures are worshipfull in their kind, and to the end that God made them for. But the carving, casting, and painting of an imagery, made within mans hand, albeit that this doing be accept of men of highest state and dignitie, and ordained of them to bee a calender to leaud men, that neither can, nor will be learned to know God in his word, neither by his creatures, nor by his wonderfull and divers workings; yet this imagerie ought not to be worshipped in forme, nor in the likenesse of mans craft. Neverthelesse, that very matter the painters paint with, since it is Gods creature, ought to be worshipped in the kind, and to the end that God made and ordained it to serve man.

Then the archbishop said to me, I grant well that no body, ought to doe worship to any such images for themselves. But a crucifix ought to be worshipped for the passion of Christ that is painted therein, and so brought therethrough to mans mind: and thus the images of the blessed Trinitie, and of the Virgin Marie Christs mother, and other images of saints, ought to be worshipped. For loe, earthly kings and lords which use to send their letters ensealed with their armes, or with their privie signet to them that are with them, are worshipped of these men. For when these men receive their lords letters, in which they see and know the wils and biddings of the lords, in worship of their lords they doe off their caps to these letters[6]. Why

[6] *Doe off their caps to these letters.*] This old custom must not be passed by without one or two notices, which will also afford further illustration to the archbishop's argument. "Saynt

Why not then, since in images made with mans hand, wee may read and know many divers things of God, and of his saints, shall we not worship their images?

And

"Saynt Austyn sayth, the mynde of Crystys passion puttethe awaye all temptacyons, and the power of all wycked spyrytes. And for this cause roodes and ymages ben set on hye in the chirche; for as soone as a man cometh into the chirche, he sholde see it, and have it in his mynde, and thynke on Crystys passion. Wherefore crosses and other ymages be full necessary and nedefull, whatsomever these *Lollers* say: for and it had not be full profitable, holye faders wolde have destroyed them many yeres agone. For ryght as the people *done worshyp to the kynges seale*, not for love of the seale, but for reverence of the kyng that it cometh fro, so roodes and ymages be set for the kynges seale in heven, and other sayntes in the same wyse. For ymages ben lewde peples bokes; and as Johan Belet sayth, ther ben many thousandes of peple that can not ymagyn in ther hertes how Cryst was done on the crosse, but as they se by ymagis in the chirches, and in other places." Festival. fol. 51 b. In so much favour was this argument, that even Sir Thomas More and bishop Gardiner condescended to make use of it. "When a man at the receite of his *princes letter putteth off his cappe* and kisseth it, doth he this reverence to the paper, or to his prince? In good faith to saie the trouth these heretiques rather trifle than reason in this matter. For where thei saie that ymages be but lay mennes bokes, thei cannot yet saie nay but that thei be necessary, if thei were but so." Works, p. 117. See Fox's Acts, p. 1219—1220. Letter of bishop Gardiner. By the time of the reign of Henry viii. it should appear, that this courtesy was already contracted within narrower limits. In Coverdale's dedication of his translation of the Bible to that monarch, in which he inforces the king's Supremacy with much zeal, he observes in the course of that argument, "as ther is nothing above God, so is ther no man above the king in his realme; but that he only under God is the chief head of all the congregation and church of the same. And in token that this is true, ther hath been of old antiquitie, and is yet unto this day, a loving ceremonie used in your realme of England, that when your Grace's subjects *read your letter, or begin to talk or commune of your Highnesse*, they move their bonnets for a sign and token of reverence unto your Grace, as to their

most

And I said; within my foresaid protestation I say, that these worldly usages of temporall lawes that yee speake now of, may be done in case without sinne. But this is no similitude to worship images, made by mans hand, since that Moses, David, Solomon, Baruch, and other saints in the bible forbid so plainely the worshipping of such images.

Then the archbishop said to mee; Leaud losell, in the old law before that Christ tooke mankind, was no likenesse of any person of the Trinitie, neither shewed to man, nor knowne of man: But now since Christe became man, it is lefull to have images to shew his manhood; yea, though many men which are right great clerks and other also, held it an error to paint the Trinitie; I say it is wel done to make and to paint the Trinity in images. For it is great mooving of devotion to men, to have and to behold the Trinitie and other images of saints, carved, cast, and painted. For beyond the sea, are the best painters that ever I saw. And sirs I tell you, this is their manner, and it is a good manner: When that an image maker shall carve, cast in mold, or paint any images, he shall goe to a priest, and shrive him as cleane, as if he should then die; and take penance, and make

most sovereign Lord and Head under God, *which thing no man useth to do to ony bishop:* whereby if our understandyng were not blynded, we might evidently perceave, that even very nature teacheth us the same that scrypture commaundeth us." If this custom still any where remains, perhaps it may be found among the formal and ceremonious Spaniards. "If I should use the Count de Gondomar's action," says Lord Bacon to the Marquis of Buckingham, "I should first lay your last letter to my mouth, in token of thanks, and then to my heart in token of contentment, and then to my forehead in token of a perpetual remembrance." Bacon's *Works*. Vol. II. p. 570. Edit. 1753.

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some certaine vow of fasting or of praying or pilgrimages doing, praying the priest speciallie to pray for him, that he may have grace to make a faire and a devout image.

And I said; Sir, I doubt not if these painters that ye speak of, or any other painters understood truly the text of Moses, of David, of the Wise Man, of Baruch, and of other saints and doctors; these painters should be mooved to shrive them to God with full inward sorrow of heart, taking upon them to doe right sharpe penance for the sinfull and vaine craft of painting, carving, or casting they had used; promising God faithfully, never to doe so after; knowledging openly before all men their reprooveable learning. And also sir, these priests that shrive (as you doe say) painters, and enjoyne them to doe penance, and pray for their speed, promising to them helpe of their prayers for to be curious in their sinfull crafts, sinne herein more grievouslie, than the painters. For these priests doe comfort and give them counsell to doe that thing, which of great paine, yea under the paine of Gods curse, they should utterly forbid them. For certes sir, if the wonderfull working of God, and the holy living and teaching of Christ, and of his Apostles and Prophets, were made knowne to the people by holy living and true, and busie teaching of priests; these things (sir) were sufficient bookes and kalenders to know God by, and his saints, without any images made with mans hand. But certes, the vitious living of priests and their covetousnesse, are chiefe cause of this error, and all other vitiousnesse that raigneth among the people.

Then the archbishop said unto me, I hold thee a vitious priest and acurst, and all them that are of thy sect; for all priests of holy church, and all images that move men to devotion, thou and such

other goe about to destroy. Losell, were it a faire thing to come into the church and see therein none image?

And I said; Sir, they that come to the church for to pray devoutly to the Lord God, may in their inward wits bee the more fervent, that all their outward wits bee close from all outward seeing and hearing, and from all disturbance and lettings. And since Christ blessed them that saw him not bodily, and have beleeved faithfully in him, it sufficeth then to all men (through hearing and knowing of Gods word, and to doe therafter) for to beleeve in God, though they never see images made with mans hand after any person of the Trinitie, or of any other saint.

And the archbishop said to mee, with a fervent spirit; I say to thee losell, that it is right well done to make and to have an image of the Trinitie. Yea, what saist thou? is it not a stirring thing to behold such an image?

And I said; Sir, yee said right now that in the old law or Christ tooke mankind, no likenesse of any person of the Trinitie was shewed to men: wherefore sir, yee said it was not then lefull to have images, but now ye say, since Christ is becomen man, it is lefull to make and to have an image of the Trinitie, and also of other saints. But sir, this thing would I learne of you: since the father of heaven, yea and every person of the Trinitie was without beginning God almighty, and many holy prophets that were deadly men, were martyred violently in the old law, and also many men and women then died confessors: Why was it not then as lefull and necessarie as now to have made an image of the father of heaven, and to have made and had other images of martyrs, prophets, and holy confessors, to have bin kalenders

to

to advise men and move them to devotion, as ye say that images now doe?

And the archbishop said; The synagogue of the Jewes had not authoritie to approve those things as the church of Christ hath now.

And I said: Sir, saint Gregorie was a great man in the new law, and of great dignitie, and as the common law witnesseth, he commended greatly a bishop, in that he forbad utterly the images made with mans hand should bee worshipped.

And the archbishop said; Ungratious losell, thou savourest no more truth than an hound. Since at the rood at the north-dore at London[7], at our Ladie at Walsingham[8], and many other divers places in England,

[7] *North-dore of St. Pauls.*] "Towards the great north door was a crucifix, whereunto pilgrimages and offerings were frequently made, whereof the Dean and Canons had the benefit." Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, p. 22. edit. 1716.

[8] *Our ladie at Walsingham.*] "The people in speaking of our lady; Of al our Ladies saith one, I love best our lady of Walsingham. And I, saith the other, our lady of Ippiswitch. In which woordes what meneth she but her love and her affeccion to the stocke that standeth in the chapel of Walsingham or Ippiswiche? What say you, when the people speke of this fashion in theyr paines and perils, Helpe holy crosse of Bradmen, helpe our dere lady of Walsingham? Doth it not plainly appere that thei trust in the images, in Christes stede?" Sir Thomas More's *Dialogue concerning Heresies*. Works. p. 140. "This village," says Camden, speaking of Walsingham, (Camden in Norfolk) "was much renowned throughout all England for a pilgrimage to our lady, the Virgin Mary; whom he who had not, in the former age, visited, and presented withe offerings, was reputed irreligious." Erasmus in his Colloquy, intitled *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*, has described this place, and a pilgrimage made thither in a very entertaining manner. A small part of the description here follows, as it is translated by Camden. "In that church, which I said was unfinished, there is a small chapel, but all of wood, whereunto on either side at a narrow and little door, are such admitted as come with their devotions and offerings. Small light there

England, are many great and praisable miracles done; should not the images of such holy saints and places, at the reverence of God and our ladie and other saints, be more worshipped than other places and images, where no miracles are done?

And I said; Sir, there is no such vertue in any imagerie, that any images should herefore bee worshipped; wherefore I am certaine that there is no miracle done of God in any place in earth, because that any images made with mans hand should be worshipped. And herefore sir, as I preached openly at Shrewesburie and other places, I say now here before you; That no bodie should trust that there were any vertue in imagery made with mans hand, and therefore no bodie should vow to them nor seeke them, nor kneele to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kisse them, nor encense them. For loe the most worthie of such images, the brasen serpent (by Moises made, at Gods bidding) the good king Hezechias destroyed worthily and thankfully, and all because it was encensed. Therefore sir, if men take good heed to the writing and to the learning of S. Augustine, of S. Gregorie, and of saint John Chrysostome, and of other saints and doctors, how they spake and wrote of miracles, that shall bee done now in the last end of the world; it is to dread, that for the unfaithfulnes of men and women, the feend hath great power for to worke many of the miracles that now are done in such places[9]. For both men and women delight now

is in it, and none other in a manner but by tapers or wax candles, yielding a most dainty and pleasant smell. Nay, if you look into it, you would say it were the habitation of heavenly saints indeed; so bright shining it is all over with precious stones, with gold and silver."

[9] *Done in such places.*] So in a dialogue between Bilney

now more to heare and know miracles, than they doe to know Gods word, or to heare it effectuously. Wherefore, to the great confusion of all them that thus do, Christ saith; *the generation of adulterers requireth tokens, miracles, and wonders.* Nevertheless as divers saints say, now when the faith of God is published in Christendome, the word of God sufficeth to mans salvation, without such miracles; and thus also the word of God sufficeth to all faithfull men and women, without any such images. But good sir, since the father of heaven, that is God in his godhead, is the most unknowne thing that may bee, and the most wonderfull spirit, having in it no shape nor likenesse, and members of any deadly creature; in what likenesse[1] or what image may God the father be shewed or painted?

And

and friar Brusierd, Bilney says, "These wonders, which they call miracles, be wrought daily in the church, not by the power of God, as many thinke, but by the illusion of Satan rather; who, as the Scripture witnesseth, hath bin loose now abroad five hundred yeeres, according as it is written in the booke of the Apocalypse: *After a thousand yeeres, Satan shall be let loose:*" to which Brusierd, in his reply, says, "God saith, *I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he convert and live.* And thou blasphemest him, as though hee should lay privie snares of death for us secretly, that we should not espie them. Which if it were true, we might well say with Hugh de Saint Victore in this maner; If it be an error, it is of thee, O God, that we be deceived: for these be confirmed with such signes and wonders, which cannot be done but by thee." Fox. p. 914. Compare Lewis's *Life of Pecock.* p. 112—113.

[1] *In what likenesse.*] Lewis, in his Life of bishop Pecock, p. 35, has published an engraving, of two of the usual representations of the Trinity, taken from the Sulisbury primer, and has communicated, in the same place, several curious particulars, taken from documents of their own, respecting the gross and idolatrous practices of the church of Rome in reference to the same subject. On the customary representations more immediately referred to in this passage, the reader may

And the archbishop said; As holy church hath suffered the images of the Trinitie, and all other images to be painted and shewed, it sufficeth to them that are members of holy church. But since thou art a rotten member, cut away from holy church, thou favourest not the ordinance thereof. But since the day passeth, leave we this matter.

And then he said to me; What saiest thou to the third point that is certified against thee, preaching openly in Shrewsburie, that pilgrimage is not lefull? and over this thou saidest that those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canturburie, to Beverley, to Karlington, to Walsingham, and to any such other places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in wast.

And I said; Sir, by this certification I am accused to you that I should teach, that no pilgrimage is lefull. But I said never thus. For I know that there be true pilgrimages and leful, and full pleasant to God; and therefore sir, howsoever mine enemies have certified you of me, I told at Shrewsburie of two maner of pilgrimages.

And the archbishop said to me; Whom callest thou true pilgrimes?

And I said; Sir, with my protestation, I call them true pilgrimes travelling toward the blisse of heaven, which in the state, degree, or order that God calleth them to, doe busie them faithfully for to occupie all their wits bodilie and ghostly, to know truely, and to keepe faithfully the biddings of God,

may also consult, bishop Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*, in his Polemical Discourses, p. 307—308, and p. 550—555. But it is a topic which can impart no pleasure in further enlarging upon it.

hating and fleeing all the seven deadly sins[2], and every branch of them; ruling them vertuouslie (as it is said before) with all their wits; doing discreetly, wilfully, and gladly, all the works of mercy, bodilie and ghostly, after their cunning and power; abling them to the gifts of the holy Ghost, disposing them to receive them in their soules; and to hold therin, the right blessings of Christ; busying them to know and to keepe the seven principall vertues, and so then they shall obtaine here through grace, for to use thankfully to God, all the conditions of charitie. And then they shall be moved with the good spirit of God, for to examine oft and diligently their conscience, that neither wilfully nor wittingly they erre in any article of beleefe, having continually (as frailtie will suffer) all their businesse, to dread and to flie the offence of God, and to love over all, and to seeke ever to doe his pleasant will. Of these pilgrimes I said, whatsoever good thought that they any time thinke, what vertuous word that they speake, and what fruitfull worke that they worke; every such thought, word, and worke is a step numbred of God, toward him into heaven. These foresaid pilgrimes of God, delight sore when they heare of saints or of vertuous men and women, how they forsooke wilfully the

[2] *The seven deadly sins.*] "Ye shall knowe that there are seven capitale, or pryncypall deadely sinnes, it is to witte, pride, envy, wrath or anger, slouth, covetousness, glottony, and lechery. And also there are seven pryncipall, or cheyfe vertues, it is to wytte, fayth, hope, charytie, prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude or strength." Bonner's *profitable and necessaryc Doctryne*. signat. Bbb 2. The expressions which follow, viz. "all their wits," "works of mercy, bodily and ghostly," "gifts of the Holy Ghost," and "right blessings of Christ," are also all of them of the nature of technical divisions in the religion of those times. See also archbishop Peckham's Constitutions, the form of Confession in the primer of Cardinal Pole, signat. Ddd 3. A. D. 1555, &c.

pros-

prosperitie of this life, how they withstood the suggestion of the feend, how they restrained their fleshlie lusts, how discreete they were in their penance doing, how patient they were in all their adversities, how prudent they were in counselling of men and women, moving them to hate all sinne, and to flie them, and to shame ever greatly thereof, and to love all vertues, and to draw to them, imagining how Christ and his followers by example of him, suffered scornes and slanders, and how patiently they abode and tooke the wrongfull manacing of tyrants; how homely they were and serviceable to poore men to releeve and comfort them bodily and ghostly, after their power and cunning; and how devout they were in prayers, how fervent they were in heavenly desires, and how they absented them from spectacles of vaine sayings and hearings; and how stable they were to let and destroy all vices, and how laborious and joyfull they were, to sow and to plant vertues. These heavenly conditions and such other, have pilgrimes, or endevor them for to have, whose pilgrimage God accepteth.

And againe, I said, as their workes shew, the most part of men and women that goe now on pilgrimages, have not these foresaid conditions, nor loveth to busie them faithfullie for to have. For as I well know, since I have full oft assaid, examine whosoever will twenty of these pilgrimes, and hee shall not find three men or women that know surely a commandement of God[3], nor can say their Pater noster,

[3] *A commandement of God.*] For some ages before the Reformation, the ignorance of the people in regard to religion was almost universal, and pitiable in the extreme. In a *supplication* of certain inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk tendered to the commissioners of Queen Mary, about the year 1556, they

noster, and Ave Maria, nor their Creed readille in any maner of language. And as I have learned, and also know somewhat by experience of these same pilgrimes, telling the cause, why that many men and women goe hither and thither now on pilgrimage; it is more for the health of their bodies, than of their soules; more for to have riches and prosperitie of this world, than for to bee enriched with vertues in their soules; more to have here worldly and fleshly friendship, than for to have friendship of God, and of his saints in heaven; for whatsoever thing man or woman doth, the friend-

they complain, in their expostulations against the revival of the Latin service: "Afore the blessed reformation, begun by the most noble prince of godly memorie the queenes good father, and by our late holie and innocent king, her good brother, finished; it is not unknowne what blindenesse and error we were all in, when not one man in all this realme, unlearned in the Latine, could say in English the Lord's praier, or knew any one article of his beleefe, or rehearse anie one of the ten commandements. And that ignorance, mother of mischief, was the very root and wel-spring of all idolatry." Fox, p. 1727. Again, in a *Dialogue or familiar talk*, by Michael Wood, A. D. 1554. signat. C 2. b. "who coulde twenty yeares agone saye the Lordes prayer in English? Who could tell anye one article of his faith? Who had once heard of anye of the ten commaundements? Who wist what Cathechisme ment? Who understoode anye point of the holye baptisme? If we were sycke of the pestylence, we run to sainte Rooke, if of the ague to saint Pernel, or master John Shorne. If men were in prison, thei praied to saint Leonarde. If the Welch-man wold have a pursse, he praied to Darvel Gathorne. If a wife wer weary of her husband, she offred otes at Poules at London, to saint Uncumber." In another part, the dialogue is thus carried on. *Oliver.* "Cannest thou saye the *Lordes praier? Nicholas.* Nay, nor our Ladies neither. I can say my *Pater Noster. Oliver.* What is Pater Noster? *Nich.* Mary, Pater Noster; what can ye make of it? *Oliver.* But why have you not learned the Lordes praier in English al this while? *Nich.* Sir John bad me kepe me to mi old pater noster, for he said the newe wold not abide alway. And nowe I see he is a true man." Signat. C 8.

ship

ship of God, nor of any other saint cannot bee had, without keeping of Gods commandements. Further with my protestation, I say now as I said in Shrewsburie, though they that have fleshly wils, travell farre their bodies and spend mikle money, to seeke and to visit the bones or images (as they say they do) of this saint or of that, such pilgrimage going is neither praiseable nor thankfull to God, nor to any saint of God, since in effect, all such pilgrimes despise God and all his commandements and saints. For the commandements of God they will nother know nor keepe, nor conforme them to live vertuouslie by example of Christ and of his saints. Wherfore sir, I have preached and taught openly, and so I purpose all my life time to do with Gods helpe, saying that such fond people wast blamefully Gods goods in their vaine pilgrimages, spending their goods upon vitious hostelars which are oft uncleane women of their bodies: and at the least, those goods with the which they shou'd doe workes of mercie after Gods bidding, to poore needie men and women.

These poore mens goods and their livelode, these runners about, offer to rich priests which have mikle more livelode then they neede. And thus those goods they wast wilfully, and spend them unjustly against Gods bidding upon strangers, with which they should helpe and relieve, after Gods will their poore needie neighbours at home: yea and over this follie, oftentimes divers men and women, of these runners thus madly hither and thither into pilgrimage, borrow hereto other mens goods, yea and sometime they steale mens goods hereto, and they pay them never againe. Also sir, I know well that when divers men and women will goe thus after their owne wils, and finding out on pilgrimage, they will ordaine with them before, to have with them both men and women, that can well

well sing[4] wanton songs; and some other pilgrimes, will have with them bagpipes; so that in every towne that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the jangling of their Canturburie bels, and with the barking out of dogs after them, they make more noise, than if the king came there away, with all his clarions, and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a moneth out in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an halfe yeare after, great janglers, taletellers, and liars.

And the archbishop said to me; Leaud losell, thou seest not far enough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great travell of pilgrims, there-

[4] *Can well sing.*] Mine Host of the Taberde in Southwarke well understood this temper of his guests, the pilgrims, and so suggested the scheme of the Canterbury Tales. *Cantantes licet usque, minus via lædet, camus.*

Fain wold I don you mirth and I wist how.
Ye gon to Canterbury, God mote you spede,
The blissful martyr quite you your mede:
And well I wot, as ye gone by the way,
Ye shapen you to talken and to play:
For truly comfort ne mirth is there none,
To riden by the way as dumb as a stone:
And therefore wold I maken you disport,
As I said erst, and done you some comfort.—P. 7. Edit. 1687.

An elder satirist gives us a still less favourable picture.

Pilgrimes and palmers plyght hem togyther
For to seke S. James, and sayntes at Rome:
They went forth theyr way wyth many wyse tales,
And had leve to lye all hyr lyfe after.
Hermets on a heape wyth hoked staves
Wenten to Walsingham, and her wenches after,
Great loubeis and longe that loth were to swynke.—*Visions of Pierce Ploughman.* fol. 1. b.

Of the controversy respecting pilgrimages, as it was debated about this period, many further particulars may be learned, on both sides of the dispute, by consulting Lewis's *Life of Pecock.* p. 92—114.

fore

fore thou blamest that thing that is praiseable. I say to thee, that it is right well done, that pilgrims have with them both singers and also pipers, that when one of them that goeth barefoote, striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleed, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosome a bagpipe, for to drive away with such mirth, the hurt of his fellow. For with such solace, the travell and wearinesse of pilgrimes, is lightly and merrily borne out.

And I said; Sir, S. Paul teacheth men to weepe with them that weepe.

And the archbishop said, what janglest thou against mens devotion? Whatsoever thou or such other say, I say that the pilgrimage, that now is used, is to them that doe it, a praiseable and a good meane to come the rather to grace. But I hold thee unable to know this grace, for thou enforcest thee to let the devotion of the people: since by authority of holy Scripture, men may lefully have and use such solace as thou reprovest. For David in his last psalme, teacheth men to have divers instruments of musicke for to praise therewith God.

And I said; Sir, by the sentence of divers doctors expounding the psalmes of David, that musicke and minstrelsie that David and other saints of the old law spake of, ought now nother to be taken nor used by the letter, but these instruments with their musicke ought to bee interpreted ghostly: For all those figures are called vertues and grace, with which vertues men should please God, and praise his name. For saint Paul saith all such things befell to them in figure. Therefore sir, I understand, that the letter of this psalme of David and of such other psalmes and sentences doth slay them

them that take them now litterally: This sentence as I understand sir, Christ approveth himselfe, putting out the minstrels, or that he would quicken the dead damsell.

And the archbishop said to me; Leud losel, is it not lefull to us to have organs[5] in the church for to

[5] *To have organs.*] When in the next century the objections against instrumental church music were revived by the puritans, Hooker noticed an argument similar to that made by Thorpe in the preceding paragraph, that the ceremonial law was abrogated, and that the texts referred to in the book of Psalms were to be understood, under the Gospel dispensation *spiritually*, in the following terms.

"They which, under pretence of the law ceremonial abrogated, require the abrogation of instrumental musick, approving nevertheless the use of vocal melody to remain, must shew some reason wherefore the one should be thought a legal ceremony and not the other. In church musick curiosity and ostentation of art, wanton, or light, or unsuitable harmony, such as only pleaseth the ear, and doth not naturally serve to the very kind and degree of those impressions which the matter that goeth with it leaveth, or is apt to leave in men's minds, doth rather blemish and disgrace that we do, than add either beauty or furtherance unto it. On the other side the faults prevented, the force and efficacy of the thing itself, when it drowneth not utterly, but fitly suiteth with matter altogether sounding to the praise of God, is in truth most admirable, and doth much edify, if not the understanding, because it teacheth not, yet surely the affection, because therein it worketh much. They must have harts very dry and tough, from whom the melody of the Psalms doth not sometime draw that wherein a mind religiously affected delighteth." *Ecclesiastical Polity.* Book v. sect. 38: where may be found much more, very beautifully composed, in vindication of the use of musick in churches; and from which I apprehend a sufficient answer may be derived, built on the sure foundations of sound wisdom, and true religion, to the principles and practices of all those who have renounced the use of it.

The truth indeed is, that before the reformation, this part of religious worship was much corrupted. Nor was it to be wondered at, where the service was in an unknown tongue, that efforts to please or to astonish the ear by the tricks of art,

to worship therewithall God? And I said, Yea sir, by mans ordinance; but by the ordinance of God, a good sermon to the peoples understanding were mikle more pleasant to God.

And

art, and by passages of a laborious and rapid execution, should take the place of simple, grave, and solemn melodies. Wickliffe expresses himself with great severity on this subject. See Lewis's *History*, p. 132—135. And in the same place, says very beautifully, in reply to an argument that might be urged on the other side, "And if they seyn that angels hearen *(praise)* God by song in heaven; seye that *we* kunnen *(know)* not that song; but *they* ben in full victory of their enemies, and *we* ben in perilous battle, and in the valley of weeping and mourning; and our song letteth us fro better occupation, and stirreth us to many great sins, and to forget ourselves." Erasmus, in one of his Epistles, attributes the ignorance so prevalent in his times partly to the want of sober and sound preaching of God's word, and partly to the incroachments made upon divine service by the unbounded usage in churches of elaborate and artificial musick. (Lib. 25. Epist. 64). And in his annotations on the New Testament, written about the year 1512, he gives a description which displays the same evil in very striking terms. "We have introduced into the churches, a certain elaborate and theatrical species of music, acccompanied with a tumultuous diversity of voices. All is full of trumpets, cornets, pipes, fiddles, and singing. We come to church as to a play-house. And for this purpose, ample salaries are expended on organists and societies of boys, whose whole time is wasted in learning to sing. These fooleries are become so agreeable, that the monks, especially in England, think of nothing else. To this end, even in the Benedictine monasteries of England, many youths, boys, and ether vocal performers, are sustained, who, early every morning, sing to the organ the mass of the Virgin Mary with the most harmonious modulations of voice. And the bishops are obliged to keep choirs of this sort in their families." Annotat. in Epist. 1. ad Corinth. (chap. 14. v. 19).

"At the time of the Reformation (says Sir John Hawkins), such abuses had crept into the choral service, which had departed from its primitive simplicity and dignity, that not only the council of Trent passed a decree against curious and artificial singing, but the thirty-two commissioners in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, expressed their disapprobation of

And the archbishop said, that organs and good delectable songs, quickned and sharpened more mens wits then should any sermon.

But I said; Sir, lustie men and worldly lovers, delight and covet and travell to have all their wits quickned and sharpened with divers sensible solace: But all the faithfull lovers and followers of Christ have all their delight to heare Gods word, and to understand it truely, and to worke thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to dread to offend God, and to love to please him in all things quickneth and sharpeneth all the wits of Christs chosen people; and ableth them so to grace, that they joy greatly to withdraw their eares and all their wits and members, from all worldly delight, and from all fleshly solace. For saint Hierome (as I thinke) saith, No body may joy with this world and reigne with Christ.

And the archbishop (as if he had beene displeased with mine answere) said to his clerks; What gesse ye that this idiot will speake there, where he hath no dred; since he speaketh thus now here in my presence? Well, well, by God thou shalt bee ordained for. And then he spake to me all angerly:

What saiest thou to this fourth point, that is certified against thee, preaching openly and

of it in very strong terms. Queen Mary, who loved music, and played on several instruments, laboured to support it, and in her reign the formulary *In Usum Sarum* was republished. At the accession of her sister Elizabeth to the crown, the clergy were divided in their opinions about the use of church music. The first statutes of uniformity seemed to consider it as a thing indifferent; but the queen by her injunctions made it a part of cathedral worship. In this she is supposed to have had the concurrence of Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been taught to sing in his youth, and was a great lover of music, as was also the queen." See notes to the Northumberland Household Book, p. 444—445.

boldly

boldly in Shrewsbury, that priests have no title to tithes[6]?

And I said; Sir, I named there no word of tithes in my preaching. But more then a moneth after that

[6] *No title to tithes.*] "It ought to be observed, that in this and the preceding reign (Henry IV. and V.), it was grievously objected to Wicliffe and his followers, that they denied the right of tithes, and would have divested the church of all the patrimony and endowments settled upon it. But this was no more than an artful slander; for Wicliffe only inveighed against the avarice of the monks, and justly enough denied their right to tithes and offerings, as divided from the proper cure of souls." Kennet *on Impropriations*, p. 111. This is true in part; and is, no doubt, in part a solution of Wicklife's opinions and language on this subject. But, if the reader be desirous of a more detailed and accurate view of the judgment of the Lollards on this topic, he may consult James's *Apology for John Wickliffe*, p. 52—58. Lewis's *History of Wickliffe*, p. 119—124. *Brief History of Anabaptism in England*, by the same author, p. xiii—xv. A. D. 1738; and Fox's *Acts*. p. 368-9, 425-6, 446. It would carry us into too great a length, and can hardly be thought very necessary, to give an enarration of the several particulars comprised under these references: but we may take out one or two sentences from them, which will point at some of the sources of argument into which a more copious exposition would require us to enter.

"I will in a word or two inform you of the ground of this accusation. Wicklife, in all his books and treatises, doth every where commend a kind of evangelical poverty, persuading clergymen to renounce the vain pomp and glory of the world; and to lead, if it were possible, an apostolical or evangelical life, to be content with food and raiment. This estate to priests, in those days unmarried, he commendeth as the better; yet he approved well enough of using the things of this world, and he himself enjoyed tithes, went well apparelled, and kept a good table, of that which was his own." James's *Apology*. p. 56. "As to Dr. Wicliff's calling the tithes, offerings, and glebes, *pure* and *free alms*, this signifies no more than a tenure or title in our common law; by which is intimated, that they are bestowed upon God, that is, given to such people as bestow themselves, or are employed, in the service of God, for pure and perpetual alms." Lewis's *Short History*.

that I was arested there in prison, a man came to me into the prison, asking me what I said of tithes. And I said to him; Sir, in this towne are many clerks and priests, of which some are called religious men, though many of them be seculars: Therefore aske ye of them this question. And this man said to me; Sir, our prelats say, that we also are obliged to pay our tithes of all things that renue to us; and that they are accursed[7] that withdraw any part wittingly fro them of their tithes. And I said (sir) to that man, as with my protestation I say now before you, that I wonder that any priest dare say, men to bee accursed, without the ground of Gods word. And the man said, Sir, our priests say, that they curse men thus by the authoritie of Gods law. And I said, Sir, I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorised now in the Bible. And therefore sir, I pray you that yee will aske the

History. p. xiv. "Curates ben more cursed of God for withdrawing of teching in word and deed in good ensample, than the sujets or people in withdrawing tithes, when they don not well their gostly office." Wickliffe in Lewis's *Hist*. p. 121.

[7] *They are accursed*.] This alludes to the *general sentence* which was denounced in all churches four times every year. The imprecations, which are numerous, commence with those which are designed for the protection of the state ecclesiastical. "I denounce and shewe for accursed all tho that fraunchyse of holy chirche breke or dystrouble, or are agen (against) the state of holy chirche, or therto assent with dede or counseyle. And also all tho that pryve holy chyrche of ony ryghte, or make of holy chyrche ony laye fee that is halowed or santyfyed. And all tho that witholde the ryghtes of holy chirche, the is for to saye, offrynges, tythes, rentes, or fredome of holy chyrche lette or dystrouble or breke." Festival, fol. 200. Or, as it stands in an older copy: "And alsoe all thoe that for malyce or wrathe of person, vicare or priest, or of any other, or for wrongful covetyse of himselfe, witholden rightful tyths, and offerings, rents or mortuaries, from her own parish chirch." Becon's *Reliques of Rome*. See Staveley on Churches, p. 236. See also Becon's Works, vol. 3. fol. 379.

most

most cunning clerke of this towne, that yee may know where this sentence of cursing them that tithe not, is now written in Gods law: for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But shortly, this man would not goe from mee to aske this question, of an other body; but required mee there, as I would answere before God, if in this case, that cursing of priests were lawfull and approved of God: And shortly, herewith came to my mind the learning of saint Peter, teaching priests speciallie *to hallow the Lord Christ in their hearts, being evermore readie (as far as in them is) to answere through faith and hope to them that aske of them a reason.* And this lesson Peter teacheth men to use with a meeke spirit and with dread of the Lord. Wherefore sir, I said to this man in this wise; In the old law, which ended not fully, till the time that Christ rose up againe from death to life, God commanded tithes to be given to the Levites, for the great busines and dailie travell that pertained to their office. But priests, because their travell was mikle more easie and light, than was the office of the Levits; God ordained the priests should take for their livelode to doe their office, the tenth part of those tithes that were given to the Levites. But now (I said) in the new law, neither Christ nor any of his apostles tooke tithes of the people nor commanded the people to pay tithes, neither to priests nor to deacons. But Christ taught the people to doe almes, that is, workes of mercie, to poore needie men of surplus, that is, superfluous of their temporall goods which they had, more then them needed reasonablie to their necessarie livelode. And thus (I said) not of tithes, but of pure almes of the people, Christ lived and his apostles, when they were so busie in preaching of the word of God to the people, that they

they might not travell otherwise for to get their livelode. But after Christs ascension, and when the apostles had received the holy Ghost, they travelled with their hands, for to get their livelode, when that they might thus doe for busie preaching. Therefore by example of himselfe, S. Paul teacheth al the priests of Christ for to travell with their hand, when for busie teaching of the people they might thus doe. And thus, all these priests whose priesthood God accepteth now, or will accept, did in the apostles time, and after their decease, and will doe to the worlds end. But (as Cisterciensis telleth) in the yeare of our Lord Jesus Christ 1271, one pope Gregorie the tenth ordained new tithes first to bee given to priests now in the new law. But saint Paul in his time, whose traces or example all priests of God enforce them to follow, seeing the covetousnesse that was among the people, desiring to destroy the foule sinne, through the grace of God and true vertuous living and example of himselfe, wrought and taught all priests for *to follow him as he followed Christ*, patiently, willingly, and gladlie in high povertie: Wherefore Paul saith thus; *The Lord hath ordained that they that preach the Gospell, shall live of the Gospell. But we* (saith Paul) *that covet and busie us to be faithfull followers of Christ, use not this power.* For lo (as Paul witnesseth afterward) when he was full poore and needie, preaching among the people; he was not chargeous unto them, but with his hands he travelled not onely to get his owne living, but also the living of other poor and needie creatures. And since the people was never so covetous, nor so avarous (I gesse) as they are now; it were good counsell that all priests tooke good heed to this heavenlie learning of Paul, following him here in wilfull povertie, nothing charging

ing the people for their bodilie livelode. But because that many priests do contrarie to Paul in this foresaid doctrine, Paul biddeth the people take heed to those priests that follow him as he had given them example. As if Paul would say thus to the people; Accept yee none other priests than they, that live after the forme that I have taught you. For certaine, in whatsoever dignitie or order that any priest is in, if hee conforme him not to follow Christ and his apostles in wilfull povertie, and in other heavenly vertues, and specially in true preaching of Gods word; though such a one be named a priest, yet he is no more but a priest in name, for the worke of a verie priest, in such a one wanteth. This sentence approveth Augustine, Gregorie, Chrysostome, and Lincolne plainely.

And the archbishop said to me; Thinkest thou this wholesome learning for to sow openly, or yet privilie among the people? Certaine, this doctrine contrarieth plainely the ordinance of holie fathers, which have ordained, granted, and licenced priests to be in divers degrees, and to live by tithes and offerings of the people, and by other duties.

And I said; Sir, if priests were now in measurable measure and number, and lived vertuouslie, and taught busilie and truelie the word of God, by example of Christ and of his apostles, without tithes, offerings, and other duties that priests now challenge and take, the people would give them freely sufficient livelode.

And a clerke said to me; How wilt thou make this good, that the people will give freelie to priests their livelode; since that now by the law everie priest can scarcelie constraine the people to give them their livelode?

And I said; Sir, it is now no wonder though the people grudge to give priests the livelode that they

aske. Mekil people know now, how that priests should live, and how that they live contrarie to Christ and to his apostles. And therefore the people is full heavie to pay (as they do) their temporall goods to parsons and to other vicars and priests, which should be faithfull dispensators of the parishes goods; taking to themselves no more, but a scarce living of tithes, nor of offerings, by the ordinance of the common law. For whatsoever priests take of the people (be it tithe or offering, or any other dutie or service) the priests ought not to have thereof no more, but a bare living; and to depart the residue[s] to the poore men and women

[s] *To depart the residue.*] *to divide.* "Thenne he rose and *departed* his goodes into four *partyes*, and all his own parte he gave to poore men, and went and was a monke in an abbey that was nyghe the water syde." Festival. fol. 5.

In the mutual stipulations of the parties in our marriage service, the words "till death us *do part*," were formerly "till death us *depart*," as they still continue in the Scotish liturgy. But in the Savoy Conference, A. D. 1661, the nonconformist divines boldly asserted "this word *depart* is here improperly used," and in condescension to this assertion, the above alteration was adopted. The word *depart*, however, seems not to be a bad word, and certainly was not *improperly used*. It might have been supported by abundant and unquestionable authority. "Let eech man beware that he procure no false divorce for money, ne frenschip, ne enemyte, for Christ biddeth that no man *departe* or twayne that God hath ordeined. But only for Avoutrye that part that kepith him clene may be *departed* from the other." Wickliffe in Lewis's *History*. p. 347. "But, Lord, thy mariage is a common accorde betweene man and woman, to liven together to their lives end, and in thy service, either the better for others help; and thilke that thus ben ycome together ben joyned by thee; and thilke that God joyneth, may no man *depart*." *Ploughman's Complaint*. Fox, p. 374. "Neyther dyd the apostles put awaye their wyves, after they were called unto the ministery—but they continued with their wyves lovingly and faythefully, tyll death *departed* them, as we may se in auncient histories." *Humble Supplicacion unto God* (Bocon's), signat. c. 5. imprynted at Strasburgh, 1554.

specially of the parish of whom they take this temporall living. But the most deale of priests now wasteth their parishes goods, and spendeth them at their owne will after the world, in their vaine lusts: So that in few places poore men have duely (as they should have) their owne sustenance, nother of tithes nor of offerings, nor of other large wages and foundations that priests take of the people in divers maners above that they neede for needefull sustenance of meate and clothing: But the poore needie people are forsaken and left of priests to be sustained of the parishioners, as if the priests took nothing of the parishioners to help the people with. And thus sir, into over great charges of the parishioners they pay their temporall goods twice, where once might suffice, if priests were true dispensators. Also sir, the parishioners that pay their temporall goods (be they tithes or offerings) to priests that do not their office among them justly, are partners of everie sinne of those priests: because that they sustaine those priests in their sin, with their temporall goods. If these things bee well considered, what wonder is it then sir, if the parishioners grudge against these dispensators?

Then the archbishop said to me; Thou that shouldest bee judged and ruled by holy church, presumptuouslie thou deemest holie church to have erred in the ordinance of tithes and other duties to be payed to priests. It shall be long or thou thrive Losell, that thou despisest thy ghostly mother. How darest thou speake this (Losel) among the people: Are not tithes given to priests for to live by?

And I said; Sir, saint Paul saith, that tithes were given in the old law to Levites and to priests, that came of the linage of Levi. But our priests he saith, came not of the linage of Levy, but of the

linage of Juda, to which Juda no tithes were promised to be given. And therefore Paul saith, since the priesthood is changed from the generation of Levy to the generation of Juda, it is necessarie that changing also bee made of the law. So that priests live now without tithes and other dutie that they claime, following Christ and his apostles in wilful poverty, as they have given them example. For since Christ lived (all the time of his preaching) by pure almes of the people, and by example of him, his apostles lived in the same wise, or else by the travel of their hands, as it is said above; everie priest, whose priesthood Christ approveth, knoweth well, and confesseth in word and in worke, that a disciple ought not to be above his master, but it sufficeth to a disciple to bee as his master, simple, and pure, mecke and patient: and by example specially of his master Christ, every priest should rule him in all his living; and so after his cunning and power, a priest should busie him to enforme and to rule, whomsoever he might charitablie.

'And the archbishop said to me with a great spirit, Gods curse have thou and mine for this teaching: for thou would hereby, make the old law more free and perfect then the new law. For thou saiest that it is lefull to Levites and priests to take tithes in the old law, and so to enjoy their privileges: but to us priests in the new law, thou saiest it is not lawful to take tithes: and thus thou givest to Levites of the old law, more freedome then to priests of the new law.

And I said, sir, I marvel that yee understand this plaine text of Paul thus. Ye wot well, that the Levites and priests in the old law that tooke tithes, were not so free nor so perfect, as Christ and his apostles that tooke no tithes. And sir, there is a doctor (I thinke that it is saint Hierome) that

that saith thus, 'The priests that challenge now in in the new law, tithes, say in effect, that Christ is not become man, nor that he hath yet suffered death for mans love. Wherefore this doctor saith this sentense; Since tithes were the hires and wages limited to Levites and to priests of the old law for bearing about of the tabernacle, and for slaying and fleing of beasts, and for burning of sacrifice, and for keeping of the temple, and for tromping of battell before the host of Israel, and other divers observances that pertained to their office; those priests that will challenge or take tithes, denie that Christ is come in the flesh, and doe the priests office of the old law, for whom tithes were granted: for else (as this doctor saith) priests take now tithes wrongfully.

And the archbishop said to his clerkes, heard you ever Losel speake thus? Certaine this is the learning of them all, that wheresoever they come, and they may be suffered, they enforce them to expugne the freedome of holy church.

And I said, sir, why call yee the taking of tithes, and of such other duties that priests challenge now (wrongfully) the freedome of holy church; since neither Christ nor his apostles, challenged nor tooke such duties? Herefore these takings of priests now are not called justly the freedome of holy church, but all such giving and taking ought to be called and holden, the slanderous covetousnesse of men of the holy church.

And the archbishop said to me; why Losell, wilt not thou and others that are confederat with thee, seeke out of holy Scripture and of the sense of doctors, all sharpe authorities against lords, knights, and squires, and against other secular men, as thou doest against priests?

And

And I said, sir, whatsoever men or women, lords or ladies, or any other, are present in our preaching specially, or in our commoning, after our cunning, we tell out to them their office and their charges: But sir, since Chrysostome saith, that priestes are the stomacke of the people, it is needfull in preaching, and also in commoning, to be most busie about this priesthood; since by the vitiousnesse of priests both lords and commons are most sinfully infected and led into the worst. And because that the covetousnesse of priests and pride, and the boast that they have and make of their dignitie and power, destroyeth not onely the vertues of priesthood in priests themselves, but also over this, it stirreth God to take great vengeance both upon the lords, and upon the commons, which suffer these priests charitablie.

And the archbishop said to me, Thou judgest every priest proud that will not goe arraied as thou doest: by God I deeme him to be more meeke that goeth every day in a scarlet gowne, than thou in thy thred-bare blew gowne[9]. Whereby knowest thou a proud man?

And I said; sir, a proud priest may be knowne, when he denieth to follow Christ and his apostles, in wilful povertie and other vertues; and coveteth worldly worship, and taketh it gladly, and gathereth together with pleading, manassing, or with flattering, or with simonie any worldly goods: and most,

[9] *Blew gowne.*] The pomp of the clergy in their dress and equipages, was a frequent subject of censure among the Lollards. We find therefore that, to bear the testimony of their example against those practices, and in a supposed imitation of the *wilful poverty* and the example of Christ and his apostles, they accustomed themselves to go bare-footed, and in homely russet gowns. See Life of Wickliffe, p. 23.

if

if a priest busie him not chiefly in himselfe, and after in all other men and women after his cunning and power to withstand sin.

And the archbishop said to me; Though thou knewest a priest to have all these vices, and though thou sawest a priest lovely lie now by a woman knowing her fleshly; wouldest thou therefore demne this priest damnable? I say to thee that in the turning about of thy hand, such a sinner may be verily repented.

And I said, sir, I will not damne any man for any sinne that I know done or may bee done, so that the sinner leaveth his sinne. But by authoritie of holy Scripture, he that sinneth thus openly as ye shew here, is damnable for doing of such a sin: and most specially, a priest that should be example to all other for to hate and flie sinne. And in how short time that ever ye say that such a sinner may be repented, he ought not of him that knoweth his sinning, to be judged verily repentant, without open evidence of great shame and and heartie sorrow for sinne. For whosoever (and specially a priest) that useth pride, envie, covetousnesse, lecherie, simonie, or any other vices; and sheweth not as open evidence of repentance as hee hath given evil example and occasion of sinning; if he continue in any such sinne as long as he may, it is likely that sinne leaveth him, and he not sinne. And as I understand, such a one sinneth unto death, for whom no body oweth to pray, as saint John saith.

And a clerke said then to the archbishop, sir, the lenger that ye appose him, the worse he is: and the more ye busie you to amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of so shrewd a kind that he shameth not onely to be himselfe a foule nest, but

but without shame he busieth him to make his nest fouler.

And then the archbishop said to his clerke; suffer a while, for I am at an end with him; for there is another point certified against him, and I will heare what he saith thereto.

And so then he said to me; Loe it is here certified against thee that thou preachedst openly at Shrewsburie, that it is not lawfull to sweare in any case [1].

And

[1] *To sweare in any case.*] That they denied the lawfulness of oaths in all cases, has very often been affirmed both of Wickliffe, and of his followers (see Hume, &c.) It would be too much to say, that their tenets afforded no grounds whatever for such an imputation; or even, perhaps, that some of those who were called Lollards, might not expressly avow such an opinion. Something of the kind appears in the *Complaint and Prayer of the Ploughman*, Fox, p. 371. But the most positive declaration of that nature which I have met with, occurs in the story of Walter Brute, who for this and other opinions, made his submission to the church in the year 1393. The words are these: "As the perfection of the eminent men of the Old Testament was, not to forsweare themselves; so *the perfection of Christian men is not to sweare at all*, because they are so commanded of Christ, whose commandement must in no case be broken, although that the citie of Rome is contrarie to this doctrine of Christ, even as in many things she is found contrarie to herselfe." Fox, p. 461.

Such however was not the doctrine of Wickliffe, nor the prevailing doctrine among his followers. In language very similar to the well-tempered expressions afterwards made use of in the last of the Articles of the Church of England, they affirmed, "that it is leeful to swere *bi God Almigti* in *a nedeful case*, with three *circumstances, in truth, doom and rightfulnesse.*" And they proceeded to substantiate their judgment by the evidence of Scripture; "In the fifth chapter of Matthew, Christ forbid not to swere bi the *Creatour*, but bi the *creature.*—Christ swoor whanne he seide, *truli, truli, I seie to you.* And as Austyn witnessith in the 5th chapter of Matthew,

And I said; sir, I preached never so openly, nor I have taught in this wise in any place. But sir, as I preached in Shrewsburie, with my protestation I say to you now here: that by the authoritie of the Gospel of saint James, and by witnes of

Matthew, Paul swoor oft in seiynge thus; *God is witnesse to me*, or thus, *I clepe*, (call) *God to witnesse to my soule*. And the aungil in the 10. chap. of Apocalypse swoor *bi God lyuynge in worldis of worldis*." Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 154, 155. Compare James's *Apology for John Wickliffe*, p. 38. 60. 61.

There appear to have been two principal grounds for the vulgar imputation against them on this subject. The *first* was, that they remonstrated openly and frequently against a prevailing vice of the times, the profane, barbarous, and customable swearing in common discourse, or upon false and trifling pretences; and in which, according to the common result of a state of controversy, the people were upholden by those whose duty it was to have taught them better things. The writer of the Prologue to the Bible, published by Robert Crowley, under the title of the *Pathway to perfect knowledge*, and by him (but probably not justly) attributed to Wickliffe, complains: "Now in Englonde it is a common protection ayens persecution of prelatys and some lordys, if a man be customable to swere nedles, false, and unadvised by the bones, nayles, and sydys, and other membrys of Christe; and to absteyn fro othis nedelesse and not leful, and to eschew pride, and repreve sinne by waye of charitie, is matter and cause nowe, why prelatis and some lords slaunder men, and clepen him lowlardis, heretiks, reisars of debate, and of treason ayens the kynge." Signat. l. 4. Hence we find the historian Knyghton stigmatizing it as a token of lollardy, that they abstained from the above blasphemies, and contented themselves with saying, when they wished their words to be believed, "I am syker (sure) it is soth" (truth). De eventib. Angl. p. 2706. So, on the other hand, Wickliffe describes the "Abbot or Priour riding with fourscore horse, with harness of silver and gold, and many ragged and fittred squires, and other men *swering heart, and bones, and nails, and other membrys of Christ*." Lewis *History*, p. 37. And Chaucer tells us of those "that delight them in swearing, and hold it a gentery or a manly deed to swear great othes, all be the cause not worth a straw." *Parson's Tale*, p. 183. edit. 1687. And in another place he has painted the manners of the times with exquisite humour.

Our

of divers saints and doctors, I have preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lefull in any case to sweare by any creature. And over this sir, I have also preached and taught by the foresaid

Our host on his stirrops stoode anon,
And said,
Sir Parish priest (quod he) *for God's bones*,
Tell us a tale.
I see well that ye learned men in lore,
Can muckle good, by *Goddis dignite*.
The parson him answerd, Benedicite,
What eileth the man, so sinfully to swere?
Our host answerd, O Jenkin, be ye there?
Now good men (quod our host) harkneth to me;
I smell *a loller* in the wind (quod he)
Abideth for Gods digne passion,
For we shall have *a predication*:
This loller here woll preachen us somewhat.
Nay, *by my father's soule*, that shall he nat,
Saied the *squier*, here shall he nat preach,
Here shall he no Gospell glose, ne teach.—
My jolly body shall a tale tell,
And I shall ringen you so merry a bell,
That I shall waken all this companie.
Squire's Prologue, p. 47, edit. 1687.

Here then was *one* ground for the charge of their denying the lawfulness of swearing.

The *other* arose from their entertaining scruples with regard to the *forms* and *manner* in which oaths were *administered*. They held it unlawful to swear *by any creature*; by heaven, by the hairs of their head, by saint, or angel. This was their grand principle; and building upon this, they maintained that it was forbidden (a *book* being a *creature*) to swear by a book; whether it were the Evangelists, mass-book, portuise, or whatever other sacred volume. We saw above that when Thorpe was called to lay his hand upon the book, he asked, "to what intent? to swear *thereby*?" And continued, "Sir, a booke is nothing else but a thing coupled together of divers creatures; and to swear *by any creature*, both Gods law and mans law is against it." Comp. also Fox's Acts, p. 433. 485, &c. The scruple appears not very intelligible. It seems founded merely, like many controversies, in a misunderstanding and confusion of terms. One does not see why they might not

foresaid authorities, that no body should sweare in any case, if that without oth in any wise hee that is charged to sweare might excuse him to them that have power to compell him to sweare, in lefull thing and lawfull. But if a man may not excuse him without oth, to them that have power to compel him to sweare, then he ought to sweare onely by God, taking him only, that is, soothfastnesse, for to witnesse to soothfastnes.

And then a clerke asked me if it were not lefull to a subject at the bidding of his prelate, for to kneele downe and touch the holy Gospell booke, and kisse it, saying; So helpe me God and this holy dome? for he should after his cunning and power do all things that his prelate commandeth him.

And I said to them; sirs, ye speake here full generally or largely. What if a prelate commanded his subject to doe an unlawfull thing, should he obey thereto?

And the archbishop said to me, A subject ought not to suppose, that his prelate will bid him doe an unlawful thing. For a subject ought to thinke

not have consented, if not to swear *by*, at least to swear *upon* a book. But it is plain, that such a scruple would greatly augment the charge of their renouncing all oaths.

In the following extract we find the argument which we have been endeavouring to establish in this note, collected together in a very short summary. William Swinderby in the year 1390, being, among divers other articles, charged with teaching, "that no man owes to sweare for anie thing, but simply withouten oath to affirme or to denye; and if he sweare he sinnes," replied thus: "This article said I not, that I have mind of in this maner. But oft I have said, and yet will, that men should not sweare *by anie creature* by the law of God; *and* that no man should *sweare in idel*, as welnigh all the people useth, and therefore me thinkes it is no neede to comfort the people in swearing. For from old unto the young, and *namely men of holie church*, breken this hest, and few bishops pursuen hem therefore." Fox's *Acts*, p. 433.

that

that his prelate will bid him doe nothing but that hee will answere for before God, that it is lefull: and then, though the bidding of the prelate be unlawfull, the subject hath no perill to fulfill it, since that he thinketh and judgeth, that whatsoever thing his prelate biddeth him doe, that it is lefull to him for to do it.

And I said; sir, I trust not thereto. But to our purpose: Sir, I tell you, that I was once in a gentlemans house, and there were then two clerkes there, a master of divinitie, and a man of law, which man of law was also communing in divinitie. And among other things, these men spake of othes, and the man of law said, at the bidding of his soveraigne, which had power to charge him to sweare, hee would lay his hand upon a booke, and heare his charge: and if his charge to his understanding were not unlefull hee would hastily withdraw his hand upon the booke, taking there onely God to witnesse, that hee would fulfill that lefull charge, after his power. And the master of divinitie said then to him thus, Certaine, hee that layeth his hand upon a booke in this wise, and maketh there a promise to do that thing that he is commanded, is obliged thereby by booke oth, then to fulfill his charge. For no doubt, he that chargeth him to lay his hand thus upon a booke (touching the booke, and swearing by it, and kissing it, promising in this forme to doe this thing or that) will say and witnesse, that hee that toucheth thus a booke, and kisseth it, hath sworne upon that booke. And all other men that see that man thus doe, and also all those that heare thereof, in the same wise will say and witnesse, that this man hath sworne upon a booke. Wherefore, the master of divinitie said, it was not lefull neither to give nor

nor to take any such charge upon a booke: for every booke is nothing else, but divers creatures, of which it is made of. Therefore to sweare upon a booke, is to sweare by creatures, and this swearing is ever unleful. This sentence witnesseth Chrysostome plainely, blaming them greatly that bring forth a booke for to sweare upon, charging clerkes that in no wise they constraine any body to sweare, whether they thinke a man to sweare true or false.

And the archbishop and his clerkes scorned me, and blamed me greatly for this saying. And the archbishop manassed mee with great punishment and sharpe, except I left this opinion of swearing.

And I said, sir, this is not mine opinion, but it is the opinion of Christ our Saviour, and of saint James, and of Chrysostome, and of other divers saints and doctors.

Then the archbishop bad a clerke reade this homilie of Chrysostome; which homilie, this clerke held in his hand written in a roll; which roll the archbishop caused to be taken from my fellow at Canturburie. And so then this clerke read this roll, till he came to a clause where Chrysostome saith, that it is a sin to sweare well.

And then a clerke (Malveren, as I gesse) said to the archbishop, sir, I pray you wete of him, how he understandeth Chrysostome here, saying it to be sin to sweare well.

And so the archbishop asked mee, how I understood here Chrysostome.

And certaine, I was somewhat affraid to answere hereto: for I had busied me to studie about the sense thereof, but lifting up my mind to God, I prayed him of grace. And as fast as, I thought how Christ said to his apostles, *When for my name*

ye

ye shall be brought before judges, I shall give into your mouth, wisdome that your adversaries shall not against say. And trusting faithfully in the word of God, I said, sir, I know well that many men and women, have now swearing so in custome, that they know not, nor will not know, that they do evill to sweare as they doe: but they thinke and say, that they doe well for to sweare as they do: though they know well that they swear untruely. For they say, they may by their swearing (though it be false) voide blame or temporall harme, which they should have if they sweare not thus. And sir, many men and women maintaine strongly that they sweare well, when that thing is sooth that they sweare for. Also full many men and women say now, that it is well done to sweare by creatures, when they may not (as they say) otherwise be believed. And also, full many men and women now say, that it is well done to sweare by God, and by our Ladie, and by other saints, for to have them in minde: But since al these sayings are but excusations, and sinne, me thinketh sir, that this sense of Chrysostome may be alleaged well against all such swearers; witnessing that all these sinne grievouslie, though they thinke themselves for to sweare in this foresaid wise, well: for it is evill done, and great sin for to sweare truth, when in any maner a man may excuse himselfe without oth.

And the archbishop said, that Chrysostome might bee thus understood.

And then a clerke said to me; wilt you tarrie my lord no lenger, but submit thee here meekely to the ordinance of holy church, and lay thy hand upon a booke, touching the holy Gospel of God, promising not onely with thy mouth, but also with thine heart to stand to my lords ordinance?

And

And I said; sir, have I not told you here, how that I heard a master of divinity say, that in such case it is all one to touch a booke, and to sweare by a booke?

And the archbishop said; There is no master of divinity in England so great, that if he hold this opinion before me, but I shall punish him as I shall doe thee, except thou sweare as I shall charge thee.

And I said; sir, is not Chrysostome an ententife doctor?

And the archbishop said, yea.

And I said; If Chrysostome proveth him worthie great blame, that bringeth forth a booke to sweare upon, it must needs follow, that hee is more to blame that sweareth on that booke.

And the archbishop said; If Chrysostome meant accordingly to the ordinance of holy church, we will accept him.

And then said a clerke to me; is not the word of God and God himselfe equipollent, that is, of one authoritie?

And I said, yea.

Then he said to me, why wilt thou not sweare then by the Gospel of God, that is, Gods word, since it is al one to sweare by the word of God and by God himselfe?

And I said; sir, since I may not now otherwise be beleeved, but by swearing; I perceive (as Austine saith) that it is not speedefull that ye that should be my brethren should not beleeve me; therefore I am readie by the word of God (as the Lord commandeth me by his word) to sweare.

Then the clerke said to mee; Lay then thine hand upon the booke, touching the holie Gospell of God and take thy charge.

And

And I said; sir, I understand that the holy Gospell of God may not be touched by mans hand.

And the clerke said I fonded, and that I said not truth.

And I asked this clerke, whether it were more to reade the Gospell than to touch the Gospell.

And he said it was more to reade the Gospell.

Then I said; sir, by authoritie of saint Hierome, the Gospell is not the Gospell for reading of the letter, but for the beleefe that men have in the word of God. That it is the Gospel that we beleeve, and not the letter that we reade: for because the letter that is touched with mans hand, is not the Gospell, but the sentence that is verily beleeved in mans heart, is the Gospell. For so Hierome saith; The Gospell, that is the vertue of Gods word, is not in the leaves of the booke, but it is in the roote of reason. Neither the Gospel (he saith) is in the writing alone of the letters, but the Gospell is in the marking of the sentence of Scriptures. This sentence approveth S. Paul, saying thus; *The kingdome of God is not in word, but in virtue.* And David saith; *The voice of the Lord,* that is, his word, *is in vertue.* And after David saith; *Through the word of God the heavens were formed, and in the spirit of his mouth is all the vertue of them.* And I pray you sir, understand yee well how David saith then, in the spirit of the mouth of the Lord, is all the vertue of angels and of men.

And the clerke said to me; Thou wouldest make us too fond with thee. Say we not that the Gospell is written in the masse booke?

And I said; sir, though men use to say thus, yet it is an unperfect speech. For the principall part

part of a thing is properly the whole thing. For loe, mans soule that may not now bee seene here nor touched with any sensible thing, is properly man. And all the vertue of a tree is in the root thereof that may not be seene, for doe away the roote, and the tree is destroyed. And sir, as ye said to mee right now, God and his word are of one authoritie: And sir, saint Hierome witnesseth, that Christ (very God and very man) is hid in the letter of the law: thus also sir, the Gospell is hid in the letter. For sir, as it is full likely many divers men and women here in the earth, touched Christ and saw him, and knew his bodily person, which neither touched, nor saw, nor knew ghostly his Godhead; right thus sir, many men now touch and see, and write, and reade the Scriptures of Gods law, which neither see, touch, nor reade effectually the Gospell. For as the Godhead of Christ (that is, the vertue of God) is knowne by the vertue of beleefe, so is the Gospell, that is Christs word.

And a clerke said to me, These be full mistie matters and unsavorie that thou shewest here to us.

And I said; sir, if ye that are masters, know not plainely this sentence, ye may sore dread that the kingdome of heaven be taken from you, as it was from the princes of priests, and from the elders of the Jewes.

And then a clerke (as I gesse, Malveren) said to me; Thou knowest not thine equivocations: for the kingdome of heaven hath divers understandings. What callest thou the kingdome of heaven in this sentence, that thou shewest here?

And I said, sir, by good reason and sentence of doctors the realm of heaven is called here, the understanding of God's word.

And a clerk said to me; From whom thinkest thou that this understanding is taken away?

And I said; sir, (by authoritie of Christ himselfe) the effectuall understanding of Christs word is taken away from all them chieflie, which are great lettered men, and presume to understand high things, and will be holden wise men, and desire mastership and high state and dignitie, but they will not conforme them to the living and teaching of Christ and of his apostles.

Then the archbishop said; Well, well, thou wilt judge thy soveraignes. By God, the king doth not his dutie, but he suffer thee to be condemned.

And then another clerke said to me; Why (on Friday that last was) counselledst thou a man of my lords that hee should not shrive him to no man, but onely to God?

And with this asking I was abashed. And then by and by I knewe that I was subtillie betraied of a man that came to me in prison on the Friday before, communing with me in this matter of confession. And certaine, by his words I thought, that this man came then to me of full fervent and charitable will: But now I know he came to tempt me and to accuse me; God forgive him if it be his will. And with all my heart when I had thought thus, I said to this clerke, sir, I pray you that ye would fetch this man hither: and all the words as neare as I can repeate them, which that I spake to him, on Friday in the prison, I will rehearse now here before you al, and before him.

And (as I gesse) the archbishop said then to me, They that are now here, suffice to repeat them. How saidst thou to him?

And I said; sir, that man came and asked me in divers things, and after his asking, I answered

him

him (as I understood) that good was. And as he shewed to me by his words, he was sorie of his living in court, and right heavie for his owne vicious living, and also for the viciousnes of other men, and specially of priests evill living: and herefore he said to mee with a sorrowful heart (as I gessed) that he purposed fully within short time for to leave the court, and to busie him to know Gods law, and to conforme all his life thereafter. And when hee had said to me these words and moe other which I would rehearse and he were present, he prayed me to heare his confession. And I said to him; sir, wherefore come ye to me, to bee confessed of me? ye wote well that the archbishop putteth and holdeth mee here, as one unworthy either to give or to take any sacrament of holy church.

And he said to me; Brother I wote well, and so wote many other moe, that you and such other are wrongfully vexed, and therefore I commune with you the more gladly. And I said to him; Certaine I wote well that many men of this court, and specially the priests of this houshold would be full evill apaid [a] both with you and me, if they wist that ye were confessed of me. And he said, that he cared not therefore, for he had full little affection in them. And as me thought, he spake these words and many other, of so good will and of so high desire, for to have knowne and done the

[a] *Evill apaid.*] Ill-satisfied, ill-contented. Thus in Jack Upland against the friars. "Why be ye evill *apaid* that secular priests should preach the gospell, sith God himselfe hath bodden hem?". Chaucer's *Works*, p. 618. edit. 1687. See also Fox's Acts, p. 239. 372. *Pathway to perfect Knowledge*, Signat. c. 1. b. The word is used in the same meaning by archbishop Whitgift in the year 1584. Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, p. 172.

pleasant will of God. And I said to him, as with my foresaid protestation I say to you now here; sir, I counsell you, for to absent you from al evill companie, and to draw you to them that love and busie them to know and to keepe the precepts of God: and then the good spirit of God will move you for to occupie busily all your wits in gathering together of all your sins, as far as ye can bethinke you, shaming greatly of them and sorrowing heartily for them: yea sir, the Holy Ghost wil then put in your heart a good wil and a fervent desire for to take and to hold a good purpose to hate ever and to flie (after your cunning and power) all occasion of sinne: and so then, wisdome shall come to you from above, lightening (with divers beames of grace and of heavenly desire) all your wits, informing you how ye shall trust stedfastly in the mercy of the Lord knowledging to him onely all your vicious living, praying to him ever devoutly of charitable counsell and continuance, hoping without doubt, that if yee continue thus, busying you faithfully to know and to keepe his biddings, that he will (for he onely may) forgive you all your sins. And this man said to me; Though God forgive men their sinnes, yet it behoveth men to be assoiled of priests, and to doe the penance that they enjoyne them.

And I said to him; sir, it is all one to assoile men of their sinnes, and to forgive men their sinnes. Wherefore since it pertaineth onely God to forgive sinne, it sufficeth in this case, to counsell men and women for to leave their sinne, and to comfort them that busie them thus to do, for to hope stedfastly in the mercy of God. And againeward, priests ought to tell sharpely to customable sinners, that if they will not make an end of their sinne, but continue in divers sinnes while that

that they may sinne, all such deserve paine without any end. And herefore, priests should ever busie them to live well and holily, and to teach the people busily and truely the word of God, shewing to all folke in open preaching and in privie counselling, that the Lord God onely forgiveth sinne. And therfore, those priests that take upon them to assoile men of their sinnes, blaspheme God; since that it pertaineth onely to the Lord, to assoile men of all their sinnes. For no doubt a thousand yeare after that Christ was man, no priest of Christ durst take upon him to teach the people, neither privilie nor apertly, that they behoved needs to come to be assoiled of them, as priests now doe. But by authoritie of Christs word, priests bound indurate customable sinners to everlasting paines, which in no time of their living would busie them faithfully to know the biddings of God, nor to keepe them. And againe, all they that would occupy all their wits to hate and to flie all occasion of sin, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving for to please him continually, to these men and women priests shewed how the Lord assoiled them of all their sinnes; and thus Christ promised to confirme in heaven, all the binding and loosing that priests by authority of his word, bind men in sin that are indurate therein, or loose them out of sin here upon earth, that are verily repentant. And this man hearing these words said, that he might well in conscience consent to this sentence. But he said; Is it not needefull to the lay people that cannot thus doe, to goe shrieve them to priests? And I said, If a man feele himselfe so distroubled with any sinne, that he cannot by his owne wit avoide this sin without counsell of them that are herein wiser than he; in such a case, the counsell of a good priest is full necessarie. And if a good

good priest faile, as they do now commonly, in such a case, saint Augustine saith, that a man may lawfully commune and take counsell of a vertuous secular man. But certaine, that man or woman is overladen and too beastly, which cannot bring their owne sinnes into their mind, busying them night and day for to hate and to forsake all their sins, doing a sigh for them after their cunning and power. And sir, full accordinglie to this sentence upon Midlent Sunday (two yeare as I gesse now agone) I heard a monke of Feversam, that men called Morden, preach at Canterburie at the crosse within Christ church abbey, saying thus of confession; That as through the suggestion of the feend without counsell of any other body, of themselves many men and women can imagine and find meanes and waies enough to come to pride, to theft, to lecherie, and other divers vices; in contrariwise this monke said, Since the Lord God is more readie to forgive sinne then the feend is or may be of power, to move any body to sinne; then whosoever will shame and sorrow heartily for their sins, knowledging them faithfully to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counsell of any other body than of God and of himselfe (through the grace of God) all such men and women may find sufficient meanes to come to Gods mercy, and so to be cleane assoiled of all their sinnes. This sentence I said sir to this man of yours, and the selfe words as neere as I can gesse.

And the archbishop said, holy church approveth not this learning.

And I said, sir, holy church of which Christ is head in heaven and in earth, must needs approve this sentence. For loe, hereby all men and women may, if they will, be sufficiently taught to know and

and keepe the commandements of God, and to hate and to flie continually all occasion of sinne, and to love and to seeke vertues busilie, and to beleeve in God stablie, and to trust in his mercie stedfastly, and so to come to perfect charity and continue therin perseverantly. And more the Lord asketh not of any man here now in this life. And certaine, since Jesu Christ died upon the crosse, wilfully to make men free; men of the church are too bold and too busie, to make men thrall, binding them under the paine of endles curse, as they say, to doe many observances and ordinances, which neither the living nor teaching of Christ nor of his apostles approveth.

And a clerke said then to me, Thou shewest plainely here thy deceit, which thou hast learned of them that travell to sow the popple among the wheat. But I counsell thee to goe away cleane from this learning, and submit thee lowly to my lord, and thou shalt find him yet to be gratious to thee.

And as fast then, an other clerke said to me, How wast thou so bold at Pauls Crosse in London, to stand there hard with thy tippet bounden about thine heade, and to reprove in his sermon the worthie clerke Alkerton, drawing away all that thou mightest? yea, and the same day at after noone, thou meeting the worthie doctor in Watlingstreet, calledt him false flatterer and hypocrite.

And I said; sir, I thinke certainely that there was no man nor woman that hated verily sinne, and loved vertues (hearing the sermon of the clerke at Oxford, and also Alkertons sermon) but they said or might justly say, that Alkerton reproved that clerke untruly, and slandered him wrongfully and uncharitablie. For no doubt, if the living and teaching of Christ chieflie and of his

apostles

apostles bee true, no body that loveth God and his law, will blame any sentence that the clerke then preached there: since by authority of Gods word, and by approved saints and doctors, and by open reason, this clerke approved all things cleerely that he preached there.

And a clerke of the archbishops said to me; his sermon was false, and that he sheweth openly, since he dare not stand forth and defend his preaching that he then preached there.

And I said; sir, I thinke that he purposeth to stand steadfastly thereby, or else he slandereth fouly himself, and also many other that have great trust that he will stand by the truth of the Gospel. For I wote well, this sermon is written both in Latine and English, and many men have it and they set great price thereby. And sir, If yee were present with the archbishop at Lambeth when this clerke appeared and was at his answer before the archbishop, ye wote well that this clerke denied not there his sermon, but two daies hee maintained it before the archbishop and his clerks.

And then the archbishop or one of his clerks said (I wote not which of them) that harlot shall be met with, for that sermon. For no man but he and thou, and such other false harlots, praiseth any such preaching.

And then the archbishop said, Your cursed sect is busie, and it joyeth right greatly to contrary and to destroy the priviledge and freedome of holy church.

And I said; sir, I know no men that travel so busilie as this sect doth (which you reprove) to make rest and peace in holy church. For pride, covetousnesse and simonie, which distrouble most holy church, this sect hateth and fleeth, and travelleth

velleth busilie to move all other men in like maner, unto meekenesse and wilfull povertie, and charitie, and free ministring of the sacraments: this sect loveth and useth, and is full busie to move all other folks thus to doe For these vertues ówe all members of holy church, to their head Christ.

Then a clerke said to the archbishop; Sir, it is farre daies, and ye have farre to ride to night; therefore make an end with him, for he will none make: but the more sir, that ye busie you for to draw him toward you, the more contumaxe he is made and the further fro you.

And then Malveren said to me, William, kneele downe, and pray my lord of grace, and leave all thy fantasies, and become a child of holy church.

And I said; sir, I have prayed the archbishop oft, and yet I pray him for the love of Christ, that hee will leave his indignation that he hath against me; and that he will suffer me after my cunning and power, for to doe mine office of priesthood, as I am charged of God to doe it. For I covet nought else but to serve my God to his pleasing in the state that I stand in, and have taken me to.

And the archbishop said to me; If of good heart thou wilt submit tnee now here meekely, to be ruled from this time forth by my counsell, obeying meekely and wilfully to my ordinance, thou shalt find it most profitable and best to thee for to do thus. Therefore tarrie thou me no longer, grant to doe this that I have said to thee now here shortly, or deny it utterly.

And I said to the archbishop; sir, owe we to beleeve that Jesu Christ was and is, very God and very man?

And the archbishop said, Yea.

And I said; sir, owe we to beleeve that all Christs

Christs living and his teaching is true in every point?

And he said, Yea.

And I said; sir, owe we to beleeve that the living of the apostles, and the teaching of Christ, and all the prophets, are true which are written in the Bible, for the health and salvation of good people?

And he said, Yea.

And I said; sir, owe all christian men and women after their cunning and power, for to conforme all their living, to the teaching specially of Christ, and also to the teaching and living of his apostles and prophets, in things that are pleasant to God, and edification of his church.

And he said, Yea.

And I said; sir, ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counsell of any body, to be accepted or obeyed unto; except this doctrine, these biddings or this counsell, may be granted and affirmed by Christs living and his teaching specially, or by the living and teaching of his apostles and prophets?

And the archbisdop said to me; Other doctrine ought not to bee accepted, nor wee owe not to obey to any mans bidding or counsell, except we can perceive that his bidding or counsell, according with the life and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles and prophets.

And I said; sir, is not all the learning, and biddings and counsels of holy church, meanes and healefull remedies, to know and to withstand the privie suggestions, and the apert temptations of the fiend? and also waies and healefull remedies, to stay pride and all other deadly sinnes, and the branches of them, and soveraigne meanes to purchase grace for to withstand and overcome all the fleshly lusts and movings?

And

And the archbishop said, Yea.

And I said; sir, whatsoever thing ye or any other body bid or counsell me to doe, accordingly to this foresaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the helpe of God, I will meekely with all my heart obey thereto.

And the archbishop said to me; Submit thee then now here meekely and wilfully, to the ordinance of holy church, which I shall shew to thee.

And I said; sir, accordingly as I have here now before you rehearsed, I will now be readie to obey full gladly to Christ the head of the holy church, and to the learning and biddings and counsels of every pleasing member of him.

Then the archbishop striking with his hand fiercely upon a cupbord, spake to me with a great spirit saying; by Jesu, but if thou leave not such additions, obliging thee now here without any exception to mine ordinance (or that I goe out of this place) I shall make thee as sure, as any theefe that is in the prison of Lanterne. advise thee now what thou wilt doe. And then as if he had beene angred, he went fro the cupbord where hee stood, to a window.

And then Malveren and an other clerke came neerer mee, and they spake to me many words full pleasantly: and an other while they manassed mee, and counselled full busilie to submit me, or else they said I should not escape punishing over measure: for they said, I should be degraded, cursed, and burned, and so then damned. But now, they said, thou maiest eschew all these mischiefes, if thou wilt submit thee willfully and meekly to this worthie prelate, that hath cure of thy soule. And for the pittie of Christ (said they) bethinke thee, how great clerks the bishop of Lincolne, Herford, and Purvey were, and yet are,

and also B. that is a well understanding man. Which also have forsaken and revoked, all the learning and opinions, that thou and such other hold. Wherefore, since each of them is mikle wiser than thou art, we counsell thee for the best, that by the example of these foure clerks, thou follow them, submitting thee as they did.

And one of the bishops clerks said then there, that he heard Nicolas Herford say, that since he forsooke and revoked all the learning and Lollards opinions, he hath had mikle greater favour and more delight to hold against them, than ever hee had to hold with them, while he held with them.

And therfore Malveren said to me; I understand, and thou wilt take thee to a priest, and shrieve thee cleane, forsake all such opinions, and take the penance of my lord here, for the holding and teaching of them, within short time, thou shalt be greatly comforted in this doing.

And I said to the clerks, that thus busilie counselled me to follow these foresaid men; sirs, if these men of whom ye counsell me to take example, had forsaken benefices of temporall profit, and of worldly worship, so that they had absented them, and eschewed from all occasions of covetousnesse and of fleshly lust, and had taken upon them simple living, and wilfull povertie, they had herein given good example to me and to many other, to have followed them. But now, since all these foure men have slanderouslie and shamefully done the contrarie, consenting to receive and to have and to hold temporall benefices, living now more worldly, and more fleshly than they did before, conforming them to the maners of this world; I forsake them herein, and in all their foresaid slanderous doing. For I purpose with the helpe of God

God (into remission of my sinnes, and of my foule cursed living) to hate and to flee privily and apertly, to follow these men; teaching and counselling whomsoever that I may, for to flee and to eschew the way that they have chosen to goe in, which will lead them to the worst end, (if in convenient time they repent them not) verily forsaking and revoking openly the slander that they have put, and every day yet put, to Christs church. For certaine, so open blasphemy and slander as they have spoken and done, in their revoking and forsaking of the truth, ought not nor may not privily be amended, duly. Wherefore sirs, I pray you that you busie not for to move me to follow these men, in revoking and forsaking the truth, and soothfastnes as they have done, and yet do; wherein by open evidence they stirre God to great wrath, and not onely against themselves, but also against all them that favour them, or consent to them herein, or that communeth with them, except it be for their amendment. For whereas these men first were pursued of enemies, now they have obliged them by oth for to slander and pursue Christ in his members. Wherefore (as I trust stedfastly in the goodnesse of God) the worldly covetousnesse, and the lustie living and the sliding from the truth of those runagates shall be to me and to many other men and women, an example and an evidence, to stand more stiffie by the truth of Christ. For certaine, right many men and women do marke and abhor the foulenesse and cowardnesse of these foresaid untrue men, how that they are overcome and stopped with benefices, and withdrawne from the truth of Gods word, forsaking utterly to suffer therefore bodily persecution. For by this unfaithfull doing and apostasie of them (specially that are great lettered men)

and have knowledged openly the truth, and now, either for pleasure or displeasure of tyrants, have taken hire and temporall wages to forsake the truth, and to hold against it, slandering and pursuing them that covet to follow Christ in the way of righteousnes, many men and women therefore are now moved. But many moe thorow the grace of God, shall be moved herby for to learne the truth of God, to doe thereafter, and to stand boldly thereby.

Then the archbishop said to his clerks; busie you no longer about him, for he and other such as he is, are confedered together that they will not sweare to be obedient, and to submit them to prelats of holy church. For now since I stood here, his fellow also sent me word that he will not sweare, and that this fellow counselled him that he should not sweare to me. And Losell, in that thing that in thee is, thou hast busied thee to loose this yong man; but blessed bee God, thou shalt not have thy purpose of him. For he hath forsaken all thy learning, submitting him to bee buxum and obedient to the ordinance of holy church, and weepeth full bitterly, and curseth thee full heartily for the venemous teaching which thou hast shewed to him, counselling him to do thereafter. And for thy false counselling of many other and him, thou hast great cause to be right sorie. For long time thou hast busied thee to pervert whomsoever thou mightest. Therefore, as many deathes thou art worthie of, as thou hast given evill counsels. And therefore by Jesu, thou shalt goe thither, where Nicolas Herford and Thomas Purvey, were harbored. And I undertake, or this day eight daies, thou shalt be right glad for to do what thing that ever I bid thee to do. And Losell, I shall assay, if I can make thee there as sorrowfull

full (as it was told mee) thou wast glad of my last going out of England[3]. By St. Thomas, I shall turne thy joy into sorrow.

And I said; sir, there can no body prove lawfully that I joyed ever, of the maner of your going out of this land. But sir, to say the sooth, I was joyful when ye were gone: for the bishop of London in whose prison yee left me, found in mee no cause for to hold mee longer in his prison, but at the request of my friends, he delivered me to them, asking of me no maner of submitting.

Then the archbishop said to me, Wherfore that I yede out of England, is unknowne to thee: but be this thing well knowne to thee, that God (as I wote well) hath called me againe, and brought me into this land, for to destroy thee and the false sect that thou art of: as by God, I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall not leave a slip of you in this land.

And I said to the archbishop; sir, the holy prophet Jeremy said to the false propet Anany; *When the word, that is, the prophecie of a prophet is knowne or fulfilled, then it shall bee knowne, that the Lord sent the prophet in truth.*

And the archbishop (as if he had not beene pleased with my saying) turned him awayward hither and thither, and said; By God, I shall set upon thy shinnes a paire of pearles, that thou shalt be glad to change thy voice.

These and many moe wondrous and convicious words, were spoken to mee, manassing mee and

[3] *Going out of England.*] In the year 1397, within twelve months after his translation to Canterbury, but not before he had given proofs of his active zeal against Lollardy, archbishop Arundel was tried on a charge of treason, condemned, and banished. After an absence of about two years he was restored.

all

all other of the same sect, for to be punished and destroyed unto the uttermost.

And the archbishop called then to him a clerke, and rowned with him[4]: and that clerke went forth, and

[4] *Rowned with him.*] To *rowne* or *round* a person in the ear is much the same as to *whisper* to him. The word is illustrated by the following extracts, which however would not have been given solely on that account: but are produced in the hope that they may administer to more important purposes. The first is taken from a sermon appointed to be read every year at the anniversary of the dedication of each parish church. "My hous is called an house of prayers: but is now made an house of *rownyng*, whysperynge, cryenge, claterynge, scornynge, tales, and symple spekeynge. We rede how saynte Gregory was at masse on a tyme, and saynte Austyne was his deken, and bad the people turne to the popes blessyng. Thenne he saw two wymmen *rowne* togyder in the popes chapell: and the fende sat in her neckes wrytying a grete rolle: and it lacked parchment, and he drewe it out with his tethe, and soo it felle out of his clawes: and saynt Austyn saw it, and went and toke it up. Thenne the pope was wroth, and asked hym why he laughed hym to scorne. And he shewed him what the fende had wryten of the wymen. And thenne he come to the wymmen, and asked theym what they hadde sayed alle this masse time. And they sayed, *our pater noster*. Then the pope bad rede the rolle to theim that the fende hadde wreten. And saint Gregory red it: and there was never a goode worde therein. Then they kneled downe, and asked mercy, and besought the pope to praye for theym: and so he dyd; and brought them out of the fendes bokes." *Festival*, fol. 155, 156. The next extract is taken from the *Mirror of our Lady, very necessary for all religious persons*, a book composed more especially for the use of the nuns of Sion, being an exposition upon the service of that monastery, in a manner not unlike Wheatly's and other Illustrations of our Liturgy. It supplies many particulars whereby we may judge of the state of religion at that period. "Spekers and slepers (*at service*) let others as well as themselves, and gyve occasion of yvel. How perylous this vyce ys, ye may se by this example. There was a yonge religyous vyrgyn aboute ten yere of age in the order of Cystews (*the Cistercians*) whose name was Gertrude, whyche after her deth cam agayne on a day at evensonge tyme, when all the convent was in the quyer

and soone he brought in the constable of Saltwood Castle, and the archbishop rowned a good while with him: and then the constable went forth, and then came in divers seculars, and they scorned mee on every side, and manassed me greatly. And some counselled the archbishop to burne me by and by, and some other counselled him to drowne me in the sea, for it is neare hand there.

And a clerke standing beside me, there kneeled downe to the archbishop, praying him that hee would deliver me to him for to say mattens with him: and hee would undertake, that within three daies I should not resist any thing that were commanded me to do of my prelate.

And the archbishop said, that he would ordaine for me himselfe.

And then after, came againe the constable and spake privilie to the archbishop: and the archbi-

quyer, and enclyned lowe before the hye auter. She cam in to her place where she was wonte to stande in the quier; and at the ende of evensonge of our lady, she fel downe prostrate, tyl all was done, and then she rose and went her wayes. None saw her but another mayde of the same age, that was wont to stande by her in the quier whiche was aferde, and tolde yt to the abbes; and on the next day, by byddyng of the abbesse, she asked of the same virgyn, when she came agayne, and sayde unto her, syster Gertrude, good syster Gertrude from whense comest thou now, and what doest thou amongest us after thy dethe? Then she answered and sayd, I come hyther to make amendes for my trespace, for I *rowned* to thee in the quyer *halfe wordes*, and therefore I am byden do satisfaccion in the same place, and but that thou be ware of the same vyce, thou shalte suffer the same payne after thy dethe. And after she had appered so foure tymes, she saide, sister I hope I have fulfylled my penaunce; from hencefurthe thou shalte no more se me; and so she went to blysse. But take ye hede, syth this yonge mayde of ten yere of age was punysshed so for halfe wordes, what shall they suffer that ar of greater age for hole wordes spoken in tyme or place of sylence." Fol. 21.

shop commanded the constable to lead me forth thence with him, and so he did. And when we were gone forth thence, wee were sent after againe. And when I came in againe before the archbishop, a clerke bad me kneele downe and aske grace, and submit me lowly, and I should find it for the best.

And I said then to the archbishop; sir, as I have said to you divers times to day, I will wilfully and lowly obey and subject mee to be ordained ever after my cunning and power, to God and to his law, and to everie member of holy church, as far forth as I can perceive that these members accord with their head Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authoritie, specially of Gods law.

And the archbishop said, I wist well he would not without such additions submit him.

And then I was rebuked, scorned, and manassed on every side: and yet after this, divers persons cried upon me to kneele downe and submit me; but I stood still, and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me, and to me, many great words, and I stood and heard them manasse, curse, and scorne me: but I said nothing.

Then a while after, the archbishop said to me, Wilt thou not submit thee to the ordinance of holy church?

And I said; sir, I will full gladly submit me, as I have shewed you before.

And then the archbishop bad the constable to have me forth thence in haste.

And so then I was led forth, and brought into a foule unhonest prison, where I came never before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, and had sparred fast the prison doore after them, by and by after, I therein

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by myselfe busied me to thinke on God, and to thanke him for his goodness. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not onely for that I was then delivered for a time from the sight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scorning, and from the manassing of mine enemies; but much more I rejoiced in the Lord, because that through his grace he kept me so, both among the flattering specially, and among the manassing of mine adversaries, that without heavinesse and anguish of my conscience, I passed away from them. For as a tree laid upon another tree, overthwart or crosse wise, so was the archbishop and his three clerks alwaies contrary to me, and I to them.

Now good God for thine holy name, and to the praising of thy most blessed name, make us one together, if it be thy will, (by authority of thy word, that is true perfect charity) and else not. And that it may thus be, all that this writing reade or heare, pray heartily to the Lord God, that hee for his great goodnesse that cannot bee with tongue expressed, grant to us, and to all other which in the same wise, and for the same cause specially, or for any other cause be at distance, to be knit and made one in true faith, in stedfast hope, and in perfit charitie. Amen.

What was the end of this good man and blessed servant of God William Thorp, I finde as yet in no storie specified. By all conjectures it is to be thought, that the archbishop Thomas Arundel, being so hard an adversary against those men, would not let him goe. Much less it is to be supposed, that he would ever retract his sentence and opinion, which he so valiantly maintained before the

bishop; neither doth it seeme that he had any such recanting spirit. Againe, neither is it found that he was burned. Wherefore it remaineth most like to be true, that hee being committed to some strait prison (according as the archbishop in his examination before did threaten him) there (as Thorp confesseth himselfe) was so straitly kept, that either he was secretly made away, or else there hee died by sicknesse.

LORD COBHAM

Friars despisen Lords and Ladies that bee given to leave pride and vanitie of the world; and saien it was not merrie sithen Lords and Ladies tooken regard to the Gospel, and leften their ancestors manners, that weren worshipful to the world.

WICKLIFFE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the year 1544, John Bale, afterwards bishop of Ossory, published *A brefe Chronycle concernynge the Examinacyon and Death of the Blessed Martyr of Christ Sir Johan Oldecastell the Lorde Cobham.* It would have been more agreeable to the design of the Editor, who aims at the production of original authorities, in preference to subsequent abridgments and compilations, to have reprinted that volume intire. But there is a degree of coarseness in the stile of this, as well as every other work of that zealous, but impure and inconsiderate writer, and so much intemperance in his language, wherever the Romish church, and the old religion fall in his way, that it was impossible for the Editor to comply with his first desire. With one exception therefore, the following Narrative is taken from Fox; whose account comprizes nearly all that is valuable in Bale's. The exception referred to consists in the description of the death of Lord Cobham, which is left very imperfectly told by Fox, and therefore is here borrowed correctly from Bale. The principal part of the whole process is derived from the Register of Archbishop Arundel, which is still extant in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth; and from other authentic and incontestible documents.

LORD COBHAM.

AFTER Henry the fourth, raigned Henry the fifth his sonne, which was borne at Monmouth in Wales, of whose other vertues and great victories gotten in France, I have not greatly to intermeddle; especially seeing the memory of his worthy prowesse, being sufficiently described in other writers in this our time, may both content the reader, and unburden my labor herein; especially seeing these latter troubles and perturbations of the church offer me so much, that unneth any vacant leasure shal be left to intermeddle with matters prophane.

After the coronation then of this new king, which was the ninth day of Aprill, called then Passion Sunday[1], which was an exceeding stormy day, and

[1] *Passion Sunday.*] The fifth Sunday in Lent was so called, "Though I think, (says Wheatley) that would be a more proper name for the Sunday following: but the reason, I suppose, why that title is thrown back to this, is because the Sunday next before Easter is generally called Palm-Sunday, in commemoration of our Saviour's triumphal entry into Jerusalem." *Illustration of the Common Prayer*, p. 205, edit. 1794. But, I apprehend, a much better account of the origin of this name may be derived from the Festival. "Dere frendes, this day is called the sondaye in passyon weke. This daye our Lord Jhesu Cryste *begane his passyon:* for this daye the Jewes hadde such an envye to hym, bycause he tolde theyr defautes and vyces and meslyvynge, and soo for this cause they repreved hym: so *this daye* they *were full* assented *to do* hym *to dethe.*" Fol. 25. The Gospel, appointed to be read in the Church on that day, was then, as it still is, the 8. Chap. of St. John, v. 46, &c. where the Jews take up stones to cast at Jesus; and thence the name appears to have originated.

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so tempestuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof; not long after the same, a parliament began to be called, and to be holden after the feast of Easter, at Westminster, an. 1413. At which time, Thomas Arundel the archbishop of Canturbury, collected in Pauls church at London, an universall synod of all the bishops and clergy of England.

The chiefe and principall cause of the assembling thereof (as recordeth the chronicle of S. Albons) was to represse the growing and spreading of the Gospell, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy Lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principall favorer, receiver, and maintainer of them, whom the bishop misnamed to be Lollards, especially in the diocesses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, setting them up to preach whom the bishops had not licensed, and sending them about to preach, which was against the constitution provinciall, before remembred[2], holding also and teaching opinions of the sacraments, of images, of pilgrimage, of the keies and church of Rome, contrary and repugnant to the received determination of the Romish church.

In the meane time, as these were in talke amongst them, concerning the good Lord Cobham, resorted unto them the twelve inquisitors of heresies (whom they had appointed at Oxford the yeere afore, to search out heretikes, with all Wickliffes bookes) who brought two hundred and forty six conclusions[3], which they had collected as heresies out of the said bookes.

[2] *Before remembered.*] See *Life of Thorpe*, p. 137, note.

[3] *Two hundred and forty six conclusions.*] These are printed at length in Wilkins's *Concil.* III. p. 333—349. to the amount of 267.

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These things thus done, and the articles being brought in, further they proceeded in their communication, concluding among themselves, that it was not possible for them to make whole Christs coat without seame (meaning thereby their patched popish synagogue) unlesse certain great men were brought out of the way, which seemed to be the chiefe maintainers of the said disciples of Wickliffe. Among whom this noble knight Sir John Oldcastle the Lord Cobham, was complained of by the generall proctors to be the chief principall. Him they accused, first, for a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the diocesse of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of their ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have sent thither the said preachers, but also to have assisted them there by force of armes, notwithstanding their synodall constitution made afore to the contrary. Last of all, they accused him that he was far otherwise in beleefe of the sacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of image worshipping, and of the ecclesiasticall power, then the holy church of Rome had taught many yeeres before.

In the end it was concluded among them, that without any further delay, processe should be awarded out against him, as against a most pernitious heretike.

Some of that fellowship which were of more crafty experience than the other, thought it not best to have the matter so rashly handled, but by some preparation made thereunto before: considering the said Lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favor at that time with the king, their counsell was to know first the kings mind, to save all things upright. This counsell was well accepted, and thereupon the archbishop Thomas Arundell

Arundell with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went straightwaies unto the king, then remaining at Kenyngton[4], and there laid forth most greevous complaints against the said Lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish, being a man right godly. The king gently heard those bloud-thirsty prelats, and farre otherwise then became his princely dignitie: notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble stocke and knighthood, they should yet favorably deale with him. And that they would, if it were possible, without all rigor or extreme handling, reduce him againe to the churches unity. He promised them also, that in case they were contented to take some deliberation, his self would seriously commune the matter with him.

Anon after, the king sent for the said Lord Cobham. And as he was come, he called him secretly,

[4] *At Kenyngton.*] The same day in which Lord Cobham appeared before the King at Kenyngton, a great many books of Wickliffe and others of his sect were burnt at St. Paul's Cross, the Archbishop preaching to the people, and stating the reasons for the conflagration. Among these volumes was one which contained several small tracts tending, as the register relates, to the subversion of the Faith, and of Holy Church, which had been discovered at a Limner's in Pater-noster row, where it was lying for the purpose of being illuminated. The artist being apprehended confessed that the book was Lord Cobham's. The meeting at Kenyngton, it seems, was a very full one. There were present almost all the Prelates and Nobles of England. Certain extracts had been made by the Clergy from Lord Cobham's volume, which were recited aloud. The King shewed very great abhorrence of them, and declared they were the most perilous and pestilent he had ever heard. Lord Cobham being demanded by the King, whether these tracts had been justly condemned. He owned that they had. Being asked again, why he kept and read a volume of that description, he denied that he had ever been in the habit of making use of it; nor had he read in it more than two or three leaves. Arundel's Register, in *Wilkins*, Vol. III. p. 357.

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admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himselfe to his mother the holy church, and as an obedient child to acknowledge himselfe culpable. Unto whom the christian knight made this answer, "You most worthy prince, saith he, I am alwaies prompt and willing to obey, forsomuch as I know you a christian king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of evill doers, and for safegard of them that be vertuous. Unto you (next my eternall God) owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto (as I have done ever) all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfill whatsoever ye shall in the Lord command me. But as touching the pope and his spiritualty, I owe them neither sute nor service, forsomuch as I know him by the scriptures to be the great Antichrist, the sonne of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place." When the king had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talke no longer with him, but left him so utterly.

And as the archbishop resorted again unto him for an answere, hee gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish him according to their divellish decrees, which they called the lawes of holy church.

Then the said archbishop by the counsell of his other bishoppes and clergy, appointed to call before him sir John Oldcastle the Lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appeare, to answere to such suspect Articles as they should lay against him. So he sent forth his chiefe Summoner, with a very sharpe citation unto the castell of Cowling, where as he at that time dwelt for his solace. And as the said Summoner was come thither, he durst in no case enter the gates of so noble a man without

his licence, and therefore hee returned home againe, his message not done.

Then called the archbishop one John Butler unto him, which was then the doore keeper of the kings privy chamber: and with him he covenanted through promises and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to passe under the kings name. Whereupon, the said John Butler took the archbishops summer with him, and went unto the said Lord Cobham, shewing him that it was the kings pleasure that he should obey that citation, and so cited him fraudulently. Then said hee to them in few words, that hee in no case would consent to those most divellish practises of the priests.

As they had informed the archbishop of that answer, and that it was for no man privatly to cite him after that, without perill of life, he decreed by and by to have him cited by publike processe or open commandement. And in all the haste possible, upon the wednesday before the nativity of our Lady, in September, he commanded letters citatory, to be set upon the great gates of the cathedrall church of Rochester (which was but three English miles from thence) charging him to appeare personally before him at Ledis the eleventh day of the same month and yeere, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken downe anon after, by such as bare favor unto the Lord Cobham, and so conveied aside. After that caused the archbishop new letters to be set up on the nativity day of our Lady, which also were rent downe and utterly consumed.

Then forsomuch as he did not appeare at the day appointed at Ledis (where he sat in consistory, as cruell as ever was Caiphas, with his court of hypocrits about him) he judged him, denounced him, and condemned him of most deepe contu-

macie. After that, when he had been falsely informed by his hired spies, and other glosing glaverers, that the said Lord Cobham had laughed him to scorne, disdained all his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the churches power, the dignity of a bishop, and the order of priesthood (for all these was he then accused of) in his moody madnes without just proofe, did he openly excommunicat him. Yet was not with all this his fierce tyranny satisfied, but commanded him to be cited afresh, to appeare before him the saturday before [5] the feast of S. Matthew the Apostle; with these cruell threatnings added thereunto, that if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to make himselfe more strong towards the performance thereof, he compelled the lay power by most terrible menacings of curses and interdictions, to assist him against that seditious apostata, schismatike, and heretike, the troubler of the publike peace, that enemy of the realme, and great adversary of all holy church; for all these hatefull names did he give him.

This most constant servant of the Lord, and worthy knight sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, beholding the unpeaceable fury of Antichrist thus kindled against him, perceiving himselfe also compassed on every side with deadly dangers; he tooke paper and pen in hand, and so wrote a christian confession or reckoning of his faith (which followeth hereafter) both signing and sealing it with his owne hand. Wherein he also answered to the foure chiefest articles that the archbishop laid against him. That done, he tooke the copie with

[5] *Saturday* before.] This is according to Bale; but it ought, both in this place, and where it occurs again below, to be Saturday *after*; as it is in the original Register. Wilkins, III. p. 354. Fox. p. 521. St. Matthew's Day is Sept. 21.

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him, and went therewith to the king, trusting to finde mercy and favor at his hand. None other was that confession of his, then the common beleefe or sum of the churches faith, called the Apostles Creed, of all christian men then used, with a briefe declaration upon the same; as here under ensueth.

The Christian beliefe of the Lord Cobham.

"I Beleeve in God the father almighty, maker of heaven and earth. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, which was conceived by the holy Ghost, borne of the virgin Mary, suffered under Ponce Pilat, crucified, dead and buried, went down to hell, the third day rose againe from death, ascended up to heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God the father almighty, and from thence shall come againe to judge the quicke and the dead. I beleeve in the Holy Ghost, the universall holy church, the communion of Saints, the forgivenesse of sins, the uprising of the flesh, and everlasting life, Amen.

"And for a more large declaration (saith he) of this my faith in the catholike church, I stedfastly beleeve, that there is but one God almighty, in and of whose Godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the selfesame God almighty.

"I beleeve also that the second person of this most blessed Trinity, in most convenient time appointed thereunto afore, tooke flesh and bloud of the most blessed virgin Mary, for the safegard and redemption of the universall kind of man, which was afore lost in Adams offence.

"More-

" Moreover I beleeve, that the same Jesus Christ our Lord thus being both God and man, is the only head of the whole christian church, and that all those that have been, or shall be saved, be members of this most holy church. And this holy church I thinke to be divided into three sorts or companies:

" Whereof the first sort be now in heaven, and they are the saints from hence departed. These as they were here conversant, conformed alwaies their lives to the most holy lawes and pure examples of Christ, renouncing satan, the world, and the flesh, with all their concupiscence and evils.

" The second sort are in purgatory (if any such place be[6] in the scriptures) abiding the mercy of God, and a ful deliverance of paine.

" The third sort are here upon the earth, and be called the church militant. For day and night they contend against crafty assaults of the divell, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthinesse of the flesh.

" This latter congregation by the just ordinance of God is also severed into three divers estates, that is to say, into priesthood, knighthood, and the commons. Among whom the will of God is, that the one should aid the other, but not destroy the other. The priests first of all, secluded from all worldlinesse, should conforme their lives utterly to the examples of Christ and his Apostles. Evermore should they be occupied in preaching and teaching the scriptures purely, and in giving wholesome examples of good living to the other two de-

[6] *If any such place be.*] According to Walden, in an address to the Parliament, he denied the existence of Purgatory. See Fox in the margin. For Wickliffe's doctrine on this point, see James's *Apology*, p. 41, 42. and Lewis's *History*, p. 131, 132.

grees of men. More modest also, more loving, gentle, and lowly in spirit should they be, than any other sorts of people.

" In knighthood are all they which beare sword by law of office. These should defend Gods lawes[7], and see that the gospell were purely taught, conforming their lives to the same, and secluding all false preachers: yea those ought rather to hazard their lives, than to suffer such wicked decrees as either blemish the eternall Testament of God, or yet lett the free passage thereof, whereby heresies and schismes might spring in the Church. For of none other arise they, as I suppose, than of erroneous constitutions, craftily first creeping in under hypocriticall lies, for advantage. They ought also to preserve Gods people from oppressors, tyrants and theeves, and to see the clergie supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the Sacraments freely. And if they see them do otherwise, they are bound by the lawe of office to compell them to change their doings; and to see all things performed according to Gods prescript ordinance.

" The latter fellowship of this church, are the common people; whose duetie is, to beare their

[7] *Defend Gods lawes.*] " Certes, the swerd that men yeve *(give)* first to a knight when he is new dubbed, signifieth, that he should defend holy church, and not robbe and pill *(pillage, spoil)* it; and who so doeth is traitour to Christ." Chaucer's *Parsons Tale*, p. 188. edit. 1687. Lord Cobham in this three-fold division of the Church follows his master Wickliffe. See James's *Apology*, p. 41. And with his three-fold division of the *Church militant*, the reader may compare a very curious and excellent Sermon, printed A. D. 1582, said to have been preached in the year 1388 by R. Wimbledon, and found hid in a wall. It is reprinted intire by John Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, p. 503—509. Lewis conjectures that the Sermon was probably Wickliffe's. *History of Wickliffe*, p. 157.

good

good mindes and true obedience, to the foresaid ministers of God, their kings, civill governours and priests. The right office of these is justly to occupie everie man his facultie, be it marchandise, handicraft, or the tilthe of the ground. And so one of them to bee as an helper to another, following alwaies in their sortes the just commandements of the Lord God.

" Over and besides all this, I most faithfully beleeve that the Sacraments of Christs church are necessarie to all christian beleevers; this alwaies seene to, that they be truly ministred according to Christes first institution and ordinance.

" And forasmuch as I am maliciously and most falsly accused of a misbeliefe in the sacrament of the aultar, to the hurtfull slander of many, I signifie here unto all men, that this is my faith concerning that: I beleeve in that sacrament to be contained very Christes bodie and bloud under the similitudes of bread and wine, yea the same bodie that was conceived of the Holy Ghost, borne of the virgin Mary, done on the crosse, died, that was buried, arose the third day from the death; and is now glorified in heaven.

" I also beleeve, the universall lawe of God to bee most true and perfect, and they which do not so follow it in their faith and workes (at one time or another) can never be saved: Whereas he that seeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therein, and performeth it in love, shall taste for it the felicitie of everlasting innocencie.

" Finally, this is my faith also, that God will aske no more of a christian beleever in this life, but onely to obey the preceptes of that most blessed lawe. If any prelate of the church require more, or els any other kinde of obedience, than this to be used, hee contemneth Christ, exalting himselfe

above God, and so becommeth an open Antichrist.

" All the premisses I beleeve particularlie; and generally all that God hath left in his holy Scripture, that I should beleeve; instantly desiring you my liege Lord and most worthy king, that this confession of mine, may be justly examined by the most goodly wise and learned men of your realme. And if it be found in all points agreeing to the veritie, then let it be so allowed; and I thereupon holden for none other than a true christian. If it bee proved otherwise, then let it be utterly condemned; provided alwaies, that I be taught a better beliefe by the word of God: and I shall most reverently at all times obey thereunto."

This briefe confession of his faith, the Lord Cobham wrote (as is mentioned afore) and so tooke it with him to the court, offering it with all meekenesse unto the king to reade it over. The king would in no case receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that should be his judges. Then desired he in the kings presence, that an hundred knightes and esquires might be suffered to come in upon his purgation, which hee knew would cleare him of all heresies. Moreover hee offered himselfe after the lawe of armes[8], to fight for life or

[8] *After the lawe of armes.*] This is in perfect accordance with the notions of those times. " *Military persons* chose this kind of purgation," (in cases where the question could not be determined by legal proof or testimony), " as most proper for them, and, after their example, so did other gentlemen and persons of quality; nay, not only men, but women also required to have their innocency cleared by champions fighting for them." Cockburn's *History of Duels*, p. 111. In the eighth year of this king's reign, a combat was permitted between Audley and Chatterton, in a charge of treason, for betraying the fort of St. Saviour's. See Cottoni *Posthuma*, p. 61. *Discourse*

or death with any man living, christian or heathen, in the quarrell of his faith, the king and the lords of his counsell excepted. Finally with all gentlenesse hee protested before all that were present, that he would refuse no maner of correction that should after the lawes of God be ministred unto him, but that he would at all times with all meekenesse obey it.

Notwithstanding all this, the king suffered him to bee summoned personally in his own privy chamber. Then said the Lord Cobham to the king that he had appealed from the archbishop to the pope

Discourse of the lawfulness of Combats. A. D. 1651. Again, in the same reign, between the Dukes of Norfolk and Hertford, the time and place of combat were appointed: but when they appeared, and were ready to draw upon each other, the king commanded them to forbear. Cockburn, p. 121. Chaucer informs us, in his Testament of Love, that he offered to prove his truth (about the year 1390) by entering the lists with his adversaries, according to the practice of that age. Even the offices of religion were made subservient to this barbarous custom. Sometimes the church seems to have complied further, even so as to have appointed public prayers for the success of duels; as appears in the instance of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, A. D. 1352, who "having been informed of some reproachful words spoken against him by the Duke of Brunswick, resolved to sail over to France to fight him. But before he committed his innocence to the trial of the sword, he desired the bishops of England to assist him with their prayers, and to recommend him and his cause to the mercy of God. Accordingly *Radulphus de Salopia*, Bishop of Bath and Wells, injoined all the clergy of his diocese to exhort the people in their several cures every Sunday and holiday, with all humility and devotion, to beg of God, who is the giver of victory, that he would appear for the honour of his holy name, and the clearing the truth of the noble Duke, and the glory of the English nation, by giving success to his arms." The original of the above account is in the Register of Bath and Wells. Comber's *Short Discourse against Duels.* See *Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Thomas Comber*, p. 235. A. D. 1799.

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of Rome[9], and therefore hee ought he said, in no case to be his judge. And having his appeale there at hand readie written, hee shewed it with all reverence to the king. Wherewith the king was then much more displeased than afore, and said angerly unto him, that he should not pursue his appeale: but rather he should tarry in hold, till such time as it were of the Pope allowed. And then, would he, or nild he[1], the archbishop should be his judge.

[9] *To the Pope of Rome.*] To Mr. Gilpin's mind there is "something uncommonly strange" in this appeal of Lord Cobham to the Pope, "whose supremacy he had ever denied. No consistent reason can be assigned for it. As to the fact however, we have only its improbability to allege against it." *Life of Lord Cobham*, p. 119, edit. 1765. I apprehend that it cannot be shewn that Lord Cobham *did always deny* the Pope's supremacy, and his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In which case the *strangeness* complained of may be thought to be much diminished.—Again: Mr. Gilpin wrote the Life of Wickliffe. Had he forgotten that Wickliffe did the very same thing? Lewis's *History*, p. 12. Mr. Gilpin also wrote the Life of Archbishop Cranmer. And if we must wonder, would it not be a great deal more *strange*, that even the enlightened, the protestant Cranmer, should appeal to the Pope of Rome? That he had it in contemplation so to do, and therein to follow the example of his great predecessor, Luther, is most certain. "But whether I should first appeale from the Judge delegate to the Pope, and so afterward to the generall councell; or els leaving the Pope, I should appeale immediately to the councell, herein I stand in need of your counsell." Cranmer's Letter to a Lawyer, published with his Answer to Gardiner, edit. 1580, p. 126. Fox's Acts, &c.

[1] *Or nild he.*] *Or would he not.* The negative "ne" was combined anciently with many other words. "Nild" is contracted from "ne willed;" which in the Ploughman's Prayer occurs without any contraction. "God that is endlesse in mercy saith, that he *ne will* not a sinfull mans death, but that he be turned from his sin, and liven." In Wimbledon's Sermon we have *nis* for *ne is*. "What sinne I pray you will the fiend have sowen on men, that nis now yused?" P. 504, Fox's *Acts*. And *nought* for *ne ought*, *never* for *ne ever*, &c. &c. still continue in use.

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Thus was there nothing allowed that the Lord Cobham had lawfully afore required. But forsomuch as hee would not bee sworne in all things to submit himself to the church, and so take what penance the Archbishop would enjoyne him, hee was arested againe at the Kings commandement, and so led forth to the Tower of London, to keepe his day (so was it then spoken) that the archbishop had appointed him afore in the kings chamber.

Then caused hee the foresaid confession of his faith to bee copied againe, and the answere also (which hee had made to the foure articles propounded against him) to be written in maner of an Indenture in two sheets of paper: that when hee should come to his answer, he might give the one copie unto the archbishop, and reserve the other to himselfe.

As the day of examination was come, which was the 23. day of September the Saterday before the feast of S. Matthew, Thomas Arundel the archbishop, sitting in Cayphas rowme in the Chapterhouse of Paules, with Richard Clifford Bishop of London, and Henry Bolingbroke Bishop of Winchester; sir Robert Worley knight and liefetenant of the Tower, brought personnallie before him the said L. Cobham, and there left him for the time: unto whom the archbishop said these words.

The first Examination of the Lord Cobham.

"Sir John, in the last generall convocation of the clergie of this our province, yee were detected of certaine heresies, and by sufficient witnesses found culpable. Whereupon yee were by forme of spirituall lawe cited, and would in no case appeare.

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In conclusion, upon your rebellious contumacie, ye were both privately and openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding wee neither yet shewed our selves unreadie to have given your absolution (nor yet doe not to this houre) would ye have meekly asked it." Unto this the L. Cobham shewed, as though he had given no eare, having his minde otherwise occupied, and so desired no absolution. But said he would gladly before him and his brethren make rehearsall of that faith which hee held and intended alwaies to stand to, if it would please them to license him thereunto. And then hee tooke out of his bosome a certaine writing indented, concerning the articles wherof he was accused, and so openly read it before them, giving it unto the archbishop as hee had made thereof an end. Whereof this is the copie.

"I John Oldcastle knight, L. of Cobham, will that all Christian men weet and understand; that I clepe almighty God into witnesse, that it hath been, now is, and ever with the help of God, shall be mine intent and my will, to beleeve faithfully and fully all the Sacramentes that ever God ordained to bee done in holy church: and moreover, to declare me in these foure points, I beleeve that the most worshipfull Sacrament of the aultar is Christes body in forme of bread, the same body that was borne of the blessed virgin our Lady Saint Mary, done on the crosse, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heaven.

"Also as for the sacrament of penance I beleeve, that it is needefull to every man that shall be saved to forsake sinne, and doe due penance for sinne before done, with true confession, very contrition, and

and due satisfaction, as Gods lawe limitteth and teacheth, and els may hee not bee saved: which penance I desire all men to doe.

" And as of Images, I understand, that they be not of beleeve, but that they were ordained sith the beleeve was given of Christ, by sufferance of the Church, to be Calenders to lewd men [2], to represent and bring to minde the passion of our Lord Jesu Christ, and martyrdome and good living of other Saints: And that who so it be, that doth the worship to dead Images that is due to God, or putteth such hope or trust, in helpe of them, as hee should doe to GOD, or hath affection in one more than in another, he doth in that the greatest sinne of maumetrie.

" Also I suppose this fully, that every man in this earth is a pilgrime toward blisse, or toward paine: and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know ne keepe the holy commandementes of God in his living here (albeit that he go on pilgrimages to all the world, and die so) hee shall be damned: he

[2] *Calenders to lewd men.*] Wickliffe and his followers did not oppose the setting up of images in churches, as *laymen's books.* One of them may be taken as expressing sufficiently the general judgment of the lawful and unlawful use of images. " Nevertheless to those men *bene* images *good* to whom they have bene but kalendars; and through the sight of hem thoy knowen the better and worshippen of God and his Saints. And to such men they *done harme* that setten her hope and trust in hem, or done any worship to hem against Gods law and his hest." William Swinderby in Fox's *Acts*, p. 433.

We have before noticed the use of the term *lewd men* for lay men. It occurs very often in that sense: and accordingly it is met with as opposed to " learned," to " clerk," " priest," " deacon," &c. " *Clarkys.*" (says the author of the Prologue to the Bible) " dispisin and stoppen holy writ as much as they moune (may), yet the *leude* people cryethe after holye wryt to kun (*con, know*) it, and kepe it, with grete cost and perile of here lyfe." Signat. R 1.

that

that knoweth the holy commandements of God, and keepeth them to his end, hee shalbe saved though hee never in his life go on pilgrimage, as men now use to Canterbury[1], or to Rome, or to any other place."

This

[1] *To Canterbury.*] The pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket, in the Abbey at Canterbury, was one of the most celebrated in England. Somner in his Antiquities tells us that his altar there was visited in one year by one hundred thousand votaries. The story of the comparative value of the offerings at *his* shrine, at that of the Virgin, and of Christ, in the same Cathedral, has been often told. They were as follows, for one year,

	£.	s.	d.
At Becket's shrine	832	12	6
— the Virgin's -	63	5	6
— Christ's - -	3	2	6

But in another year the preference shewn to the saint was still more decided. Thus:

At Becket's -	554	6	3
— the Virgin's	4	1	8
— Christ's - -	0	0	0

Yet others, besides the Wickliffites, as we are told, were guilty of heresy against the established rights of this Saint. "In the year 1381, (says the monkish writer of *Speculum Parvulorum*), in the fourth jubilee of the most famous martyr St. Thomas, the people from every place flocked in great multitudes to Canterbury. At the same time it happened that the venerable father, the Lord *Simon de Suthberi, (Sudbury)*, then bishop of London, *(afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury)*, was travelling towards Canterbury, who being misled by the spirit of error, positively assured the people that were going on pilgrimage thither, that *the plenary indulgence, which they hoped for at Canterbury, was of no profit or value*; on which many of the croud, with their eyes cast down to the ground, stood amazed at the sayings of so great a father; some went back again; others with loud voices cursed the bishop to his face, saying, and wishing, that *he* might die a base and shameful death, who was not afraid to do so great an injury to so glorious a martyr. A Kentish knight also, whose name the writer thinks was Sir Thomas de Aldoun, being moved with anger, came up to the bishop, and said to him, My lord bishop, because

This answer to his articles thus ended and read, he delivered it to the Bishops as is said afore. Then counselled the Archbishop with the other two Bishops, and with divers of the doctors, what was to be done in this matter; commanding him for the time to stand aside. In conclusion by their assent and information, hee said thus unto him, "Come hither sir John. In this your writing are many good things contained, and right catholicke also, we deny it not: but yee must consider that this day was appointed you to answer to other points concerning those articles, whereof as yet no mention is made in this your bill. And therefore yee must declare yet your minde more plainely.

"And thus; whether that ye hold, affirme, and beleeve, that in the sacrament of the aultar, after the consecration rightly done by a priest, remaineth materiall bread, or not: Moreover, whether ye do hold, affirme and beleeve, that as concerning the sacrament of penance (where a competent number of priests are) every christian man is necessarily bound to be confessed of his sinnes to a priest ordained by the church, or not."

After certaine other communication, this was the answer of the good Lord Cobham. That none otherwise would hee declare his minde, nor yet answere unto his articles, than was expressely in his writing there contained. Then said the arch-

because you have raised such a sedition among the people against St. Thomas, at the peril of my soul, you shall die a shameful death; to which all the people cried, *amen, amen*. Accordingly, in the reign of Richard 2d, he was beheaded by the mob that rose under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, that the voice of the people, saith the writer of this story, i. e. the voice of God, as it was foretold, might in due time be fulfilled." Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I. p. 49, 50, according to the translation of Mr. Lewis, in his *Life of Bishop Pecock*, p. 56, &c.

bishop

bishop againe unto him, " Sir John, beware what yee doe. For if yee answere not clearely to those thinges that are here objected against you (especially at the time appointed you only for that purpose) the law of holy church is, that compelled once by a judge, we may openly proclaime you an heretick." Unto whom hee gave this answer: " Doe as yee shall thinke best, for I am at a point." Whatsoever hee or the other bishops did aske him after that, he bad them resort to his bill; for thereby would he stand to the verie death. Other answere would hee not give that day, wherewith the bishops and prelates were in a maner amased and wonderfully disquieted.

At the last the archbishop counselled againe with his other bishops and doctors; and in the end thereof declared unto him, what the holy church of Rome (following the saying of S. Augustine, S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, and of other holy Doctors) had determined in these matters, no manner of mention once made of Christ. Which determination (saith he) ought all christian men both to beleeve and to follow.

Then said the Lord Cobham unto him, " that he would gladly both beleeve and observe whatsoever holy church of Christes institution had determined, or yet whatsoever God had willed him either to beleeve or to do. But that the pope of Rome with his cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of that church had lawfull power to determine such matter as stood not with his word throughly; that would he not (he said) at the time affirme." With this the archbishop bad him to take good advisement till the Munday next following (which was the 25. day of September) and then justly to answere, specially unto this point: " whether there remained matteriall bread in the sacrament

sacrament of the aultar, after the words of consecration or not:" He promised him also, to send unto him in writing those matters clearely determined, that he might then bee the more perfect in his answere making. And all this was nought els, but to blinde the multitude with somewhat.

The next day following, according to his promise, the archbishop sent unto him into the Tower, this foolish and blasphemous writing, made by him and by his unlearned clergy.

The determination of the Archbishop, and Clergie.

" The faith and determination of the holy church touching the blisful sacrament of the aultar, is this: that after the Sacramentall words be once spoken by a priest in his Masse, the materiall bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christes very body. And the materiall wine, that was before wine, is turned into Christes very bloud. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the aultar, from thenceforth, no materiall bread, nor materiall wine, which were there before the sacramentall words were spoken: How beleeve ye this article?

" Holy church hath determined that every christian man living here bodily upon the earth, ought to be shriven to a priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him: How feele ye this article?

" Christ ordained S. Peter the Apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose See is the holy church of Rome: and he granted, that the same power which he gave unto Peter, should succeed to all Peters successors, which wee call now Popes of Rome; by whose power in Churches particular, he ordained prelates, as Archbishops, Bishops, Parsons, Curates, and other degrees more; unto whom

christian men ought to obey after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. How feele ye this article?

"Holy Church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a christian man to goe on pilgrimage to holy places: and there specially to worship holy reliques and images of saints, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the church of Rome. How feele ye this article?"

And as the Lord Cobham had read over this most wretched writing, he marvelled greatly of their madde ignorance: but that he considered againe, that God had given them over for their unbeliefes sake, into most deep errours and blindnesse of soule. Againe, he perceived hereby, that their uttermost malice was purposed against him, howsoever he should answere. And therefore hee put his life into the hands of God, desiring his onely spirit to assist him in his next answer.

When the said 25. day of September was come (which was also the Munday before Michaelmas) in the said yeare of our Lord 1413, Thomas Arundell the Archbishop of Canturbury commanded his judiciall seate to be removed from the chapter house of Paules to the Dominicke Friers within Ludgate at London. And as hee was there set with Richard Bishop of London, Henry the Bishop of Winchester, and Bennet the Bishop of Bangor, he called in unto him his counsell and his officers, with divers other doctors and friers, of whom these are the names here following: maister Henry Ware, the officiall of Canterburie; Philip Morgan, Doctor of both lawes; Howell Kiffin, Doctor of the Canon lawe; John Kempe, doctor of the Canon lawe; William Carletan, Doctor of the Canon lawe; John Witnam, of the Newe Colledge in Oxforde;

John Whithead, doctor in Oxford also; Robert Wombewell, Vicar of S. Laurence in the Jewry; Thomas Palmer, the Warden of Minors; Robert Chamberlaine, Prior of the Dominickes; Richard Dodington, Prior of the Augustines; Thomas Walden, Prior of the Carmelites, all Doctors of Divinitie. John Stevens also, and James Cole, both Notaries, appointed there purposely to write all that should be either said or done. All these, with a great sort more of priestes, monkes, canons, friers, parish clarkes, belringers, pardoners, disdained him, with innumerable mockes and scornes, reckoning him to bee an horrible hereticke, and a man accursed afore God.

Anone the Archbishop called for a Masse booke, and caused all those prelates and doctors to sweare thereupon, that everie man should faithfully doe his office and duetie that day. And that neither for favour nor fear, love nor hate of the one partie nor the other, any thing should there be witnessed, spoken or done, but according to the trueth, as they would answer before God and all the world at the day of dome. Then were the two foresaid notaries sworne also, to write and to witnes the proces that there should be uttered on both parties, and to saie their mindes (if they otherwise knew) before they should register it. And all this dissimulation, was but to colour their mischiefes, before the ignorant multitude.

Consider herein (gentle reader) what this wicked generation is, and how far wide from the just feare of God; for as they were then, so are they yet to this day.

After that, came forth before them, Sir Robert Morley, Knight and Liefetenant of the Tower, and he brought with him the good L. Cobham, there leaving

leaving him among them as a lamb among wolves, to his examination and answere.

Another examination of the Lord Cobham.

Then said the archbishop unto him: "Lord Cobham ye be advised (I am sure) of the words and proces which wee had unto you upon Saterdaie last past in the chapterhouse of Paules: which proces were now too long to be rehearsed againe. I said unto you then, that you were accursed for your contumacie and disobedience to holy church, thinking that yee should with meekenesse have desired your absolution."

Then spake the L. Cobham with a chearful countenance, and said, "God said by his holie Prophet, *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*, which is as much to say as, *I shall curse where you blesse.*"

The archbishop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not heard him, saying: "Sir, at that time I gently profered to have assoiled you if you woulde have asked it. And yet I doe the same if ye will humbly desire it in due forme and maner, as holy church hath ordained."

Then said the Lord Cobham: "Nay forsooth will I not, for I never yet trespassed against you, and therefore I will not doe it." And with that he kneeled downe on the pavement, holding up his hands towards heaven, and said: "I shrive me here unto thee my eternal living God, that in my fraile youth I offended thee (O Lord) most greevously in pride, wrath, and gluttony; in covetousnesse, and in letcherie. Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins, good Lord I aske thee mercie. And therewith weepingly hee stoode up againe and said with a mighty

mighty voice, Loe, good people, loe: For the breaking of Gods lawe and his great commandements, they never yet cursed me. But for their owne lawes and traditions, most cruelly doe they handle both me and other men. And therefore, both they and their lawes, by the promise of God, shall utterly be destroied."

At this the archbishop and his company were not a little blemished. Notwithstanding, hee tooke stomacke unto him againe after certaine words had, in excuse of their tyrannie, and examined the Lord Cobham of his christian beliefe.

Whereunto the L. Cobham made this godly answere, " I beleeve (saith he) fully and faithfully in the universall lawes of God. I beleeve that all is true which is contained in the holy sacred scriptures of the Bible. Finally I beleeve, all that my Lord God would I should beleeve."

Then demanded the archbishop an answere of that bill which he and the clergy had sent him into the Tower the day afore, in maner of a determination of the church concerning the foure articles whereof hee was accused; specially for the sacrament of the aultar, how hee beleeved therein.

Whereunto the L. Cobham said, " that with that bill he had nothing to doe. But this was his beliefe (he said) concerning the sacrament: That his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, sitting at his last supper with his most deare disciples, the night before hee should suffer, tooke bread in his hand, and giving thanks to his eternall father, blessed it, brake it, and so gave it unto them: saying, *Take it unto you, and eate thereof all; this is my body which shall be betraied for you: Doe this hereafter in my remembrance.* This doe I throughly beleeve (saith he); for this faith am I taught in the Gospell of Mathew, in Mark, and in Luke, and also in the first Epistle

of S. Paule to the Corinthians, chapter the eleventh."

Then asked the Archbishop, if he beleeved that it were bread after the consecration or sacramentall words spoken over it.

The Lord Cobham said: "I beleeve that in the sacrament of the altar is Christs very bodie in forme of bread, the same that was borne of the virgin Marie, done on the crosse, dead, and buried, and that the third day arose from death to life, which now is glorified in heaven."

Then said one of the doctors of the law: "After the sacramentall words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but onely the bodie of Christ."

The lord Cobham said then to one master John Whitehead: "You said once unto me in the castle of Cowling, that the sacred host was not Christs bodie. But I held then against you, and proved that therein was his bodie, though the seculars and friers could not therein agree, but held each one against other in that opinion. These were my words then, if yee remember it."

Then shouted a sort of them together, and cried with great noise: "We say all, that it is Gods bodie."

And divers of them asked him in great anger, whether it were materiall bread after the consecration or not?

Then looked the Lord Cobham earnestly upon the archbishop, and said: "I beleeve surely that it is Christs bodie in forme of bread. Sir beleeve not you thus?"

And the archbishop said, "Yes mary doe I."

Then asked him the doctors, whether it were onely Christs bodie after the consecration of a priest, and no bread, or not?

And

And he said unto them, " it is both Christs bodie and bread. I shall prove it as thus: For like as Christs dwelling here upon the earth, had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the invisible Godhead covered under that manhood, which was onely visible and seene in him; so in the sacrament of the altar, is Christs very bodie, and bread also, as I beleeve. The bread is the thing that we see with our eies: the bodie of Christ (which is his flesh and his blood) is there under hid, and not seene, but in faith.

" And moreover, to prove that it is both Christs bodie, and also bread, after the consecration, it is by plaine words expressed by one of your owne doctors writing against Eutyches, which saith; Like as the selfe same sacraments doe passe by the operation of the holy Ghost, into a divine nature, and yet notwithstanding keepe the propertie still of their former nature; so, that principall mysterie declareth to remaine one true, and perfect Christ, &c." (Gelasius contr. Eutych.)

Then smiled they each one upon other, that the people should judge him taken in a great heresie. And with a great brag divers of them said; " It is a foule heresie."

Then asked the archbishop what bread it was? And the doctors also inquired of him whether it were materiall or not?

The Lord Cobham said unto them, " The scriptures make no mention of this word materiall, and therefore my faith hath nothing to doe therewith. But this I say and beleeve, that it is Christs body and bread. For Christ said in the vi. of Johns Gospell, *Ego sum panis vivus, qui de cælo descendi; I which came downe from heaven, am the living and not the dead bread.* Therefore I say now againe as I said afore, as our Lord Jesus Christ is very

God, and very man, so in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, is Christs very body and bread."

Then said they all with one voice: "It is an heresie."

One of the bishops stood up by and by, and said: "What? it is an heresie manifest, to say that it is bread, after the Sacramentall words be once spoken, but Christs body onely."

The Lord Cobham said: "S. Paul the Apostle was (I am sure) as wise as you be now, and more godly learned, and hee called it bread, writing to the Coriuthians; *The bread that we breake*, saith he, *is it not the partaking of the body of Christ?* Lo he called it bread and not Christs body, but a meane whereby we receive Christs body?"

Then said they againe: "S. Paul must be otherwise understood. For it is sure an heresie to say that it is bread, after the consecration, but only Christs body."

The Lord Cobham asked, how they could make good that sentence of theirs?

They answered him thus: "For it is against the determination of holy church."

Then said the Archbishop unto him: "Sir John, we sent you a writing concerning the faith of this blessed Sacrament, clearely determined by the church of Rome our mother, and by the holy Doctors."

Then hee said againe unto him, "I know none holier than is Christ and his Apostles. And as for that determination, I wote it is none of theirs: for it standeth not with the Scriptures, but manifestly against them. If it bee the Churches as yee say it is, it hath been hers onely since she received the great poison of worldly possessions, and not afore."

Then

Then asked they him, to stop his mouth therewith, if hee beleeved not in the determination of the church[4]?

And he said unto them: "No forsooth, for it is no God. In all our creede, this word (*in*) is but thrice mentioned concerning beleefe: *In* God the Father, *in* God the Sonne, *in* God the holy Ghost, three persons and one God. The birth, the death,

[4] In *the determination of the Church*] "It appears, by the Acts against the Lollards in the diocese of Ely, that it was an usual interrogatory put by the ecclesiastical judges to those whom they suspected of Lollardy, An *in ecclesiam* credis? Dost thou believe *in the Church?*" Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 204. "They of Master Harding's side" (says Bishop Jewel, in his *Defence of the Apology*, p. 74.) "have evermore well liked this forme of speech, Credo in sanctam ecclesiam, I believe *in* the Holy Church." The expressions in the Creed "to *believe in God*," "*in* Christ," or "*in* the Holy Ghost," were, in the Latin Church, principally upon the authority of St. Augustin, ever conceived to imply much more than merely a belief that "God is, &c.;" and, besides the act of faith, were accounted to comprize an addition of hope, love, or affiance. See Bishop Pearson's *Exposition on the Creed*. Art. 1. The zealous supporters of the fading authority of the Church, appear therefore to have been anxious to avail themselves of this supposed and acknowledged efficacy of the preposition *in*, and to have endeavoured to get that word inserted into the orthodox belief respecting the Church, presuming that, if they could succeed in so doing, it would be followed by a corresponding accession of submission and devotion to all her determinations. For being thereby associated with a word which in the Creed was appropriated only to God, she would appear to be invested with a degree of authority like to the divine. Nay, had his predecessors succeeded in this their stratagem, they would have overstepped the modesty of the wishes even of Bishop Bonner himself. "Concernynge the Catholique Churche, we must *beleve it*, that is to say, geve credite to it, but not beleve *in* it, for to beleve *in* it, were to make it God." *Profitable and Necessary Doctrine*, Signat. I. 46. A.D. 1555. Bishop Pecock in his *Treatise on Faith*, p. 30, shewed how little he approved of this usurpation; which freedom of his was probably one of the reasons that subjected him to the displeasure of his brethren.

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the buriall, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, hath none *(in)* for beleefe, but in him. Neither yet hath the Church, the sacraments, the forgivenesse of sinne, the latter resurrection, nor yet the life everlasting, any other *(in)* than in the holy Ghost."

Then said one of the Lawyers: "Tush, that was but a word of office. But what is your beliefe concerning holy Church?"

The Lord Cobham answered: "My beliefe is, (as I said afore,) that all the Scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All that is grounded upon them I beleeve throughly. For I know, it is Gods pleasure that I should so doe. But in your lordly lawes and idle determinations, have I no beliefe. For yee be no part of Christs holy church, as your open deeds doe shew: But yee are very Antichrists, obstinately set against his holy law and will. The lawes that yee have made, are nothing to his glory, but onely for your vaine glory and abominable covetousnesse."

This, they said, was an exceeding heresie (and that in a great fume) not to beleeve the determination of holy Church.

Then the Archbishop asked him, what he thought of holy Church.

He said unto him, "my beliefe is, that the holy church is the number of them, which shall be saved, of whom Christ is the head. Of this church, one part is in heaven with Christ, another in purgatorie (you say;) and the third is heere in earth. This latter part standeth in three degrees, in knighthood, priesthood, and the communalty, as I said afore plainely in the confession of my beliefe."

Then said the Archbishop unto him; "Can you tell me who is of this church?"

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The Lord Cobham answered: "Yea truely can I."

Then said Doctor Walden the Prior of the Carmelits; "It is doubt unto you who is thereof. For Christ saith in Matthew, *Nolite judicare, presume to judge no man.* If yee be heere forbidden the judgement of your neighbour or brother, much more the judgement of your superiour."

The Lord Cobham made him this answere: "Christ saith also in the selfesame chapter of Matthew, that like as the evill tree is knowne by his fruit, so is a false prophet by his works, appeare they never so glorious: But that yee left behind yee. And in John he hath this text, *Operibus credite, beleeve you the outward doings.* And in an other place of John, *Justum judicium judicate;* when we know the thing to bee true, we may so judge it, and not offend. For David said also, *Rectè judicate filii hominum; Judge rightly alwaies yee children of men.* And as for your superioritie, were yee of Christ, yee should be meeke ministers, and no proud superiours."

Then said Doctor Walden unto him, "Yee make heere no differencee of judgements: Yee put no diversitie betweene the evill judgements which Christ hath forbidden, and the good judgements, which he hath commanded us to have. Rash judgement, and right judgement, all is one with you. So swift judges alwaies are the learned scholars of Wickliffe."

Unto whom the Lord Cobham thus answered: "It is well sophistred of you forsooth. Preposterous are your judgements evermore. For as the Prophet Esay saith, *Yee judge evill good, and good evill:* and therfore the same Prophet concludeth, *that your waies are not Gods waies, nor Gods waies your waies.* And as for that vertuous man Wickliffe, whose judgements yee so highly disdaine, I shall say

say heere of my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sinne. But since I learned therein to feare my Lord God, it hath otherwise I trust beene with me: so much grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions."

Then said Doctor Walden againe yet unto him: "It were not well with me (so many vertuous men living, and so many learned men teaching the Scripture, being also so open, and the examples of fathers so plenteous,) if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the divell preach. S. Hierome saith, that he which seeketh such suspected masters, shall not find the midday light, but the midday divell."

The Lord Cobham said: "Your fathers the old Pharisies, ascribed Christs miracles to Belzebub, and his doctrine to the divell. And you as their naturall children, have still the self-same judgement concerning his faithfull followers. They that rebuke your vicious living must needs be heretikes, and that must your doctors prove, when you have no scripture to doe it. Then said he to them all: to judge you as you be, we neede no further goe than to your owne proper acts. Where doe yee find in all Gods law, that yee should thus sit in judgement of any christian man, or yet give sentence upon any other man unto death as yee doe heere daily? No ground have yee in all the Scriptures so Lordly to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiphas, which sat thus upon Christ, and upon his Apostles after his ascension. Of them only have yee taken it to judge Christs members as yee doe, and neither of Peter nor John."

Then said some of the Lawyers: "Yes forsooth sir, for Christ judged Judas."

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The Lord Cobham said: "No. Christ judged him not, but he judged himselfe, and thereupon went forth, and so did hang himselfe. But indeede Christ said, Woe unto him, for that covetous act of his, as he doth yet still unto many of you. For since the venime of him was shed into the Church, yee never followed Christ, neither yet have yee stood in the perfection of Gods law."

Then the Archbishop asked him, what he meant by that venime?

The Lord Cobham said: "your possessions and Lordships. For then cried an Angell[5] in the aire (as your owne Chronicles mention) Woe, woe, woe, this day is venime shed into the Church of God. Before that time, all the Bishops of Rome were Martyrs in a maner. And since that time, we read of very few. But indeede since that same time, one hath put down an other, one hath poisoned an other, one hath cursed an other, and one hath slaine an other, and done much more mischiefe besides, as all the Chronicles tell. And let all men consider well this, that Christ was meeke, and mercifull; the Pope is proud, and a tyrant:

[5] *Cried an angell.*] Bale, in his margin, refers to Ranulphus Cestrensis in Polychron: lib. 4. cap. 26. The time and events alluded to are those of the grant of the temporal rights and privileges to the Church by the emperor Constantine: the story was often cited by the complainants against ecclesiastical degeneracy. "Narrant Chronica, (says Wickliffe, *Dialogor. lib.* iv. *c.* 18.) quod in dotatione ecclesiæ, vox audita est in aere angelica tunc temporis sic dicentis, *Hodie effusum est venenum in ecclesia sancta Dei.*" So also Pierce Ploughman's Vision, fol. 85. b. edit. 1550.

Whan Constantyne of curtesy, holy kyrke dowed
With lands and leades, lordshyps and rentes,
An Angel men harden on hyghe at Rome crye,
Dos ecclesiæ, thys daie hath dranke venyme,
And they that have Peters power are poysoned all.

Christ,

Christ was poore and forgave; the pope is rich and a malicious manslaier, as his daily acts doe prove him. Rome is the very nest of Antichrist, and out of that nest commeth all the Disciples of him: Of whom, Prelates, Priests, and Monkes, are the body, and these pild Friers are the taile."

Then said the Prior of the Friers Augustines, "Alack sir, why doe you say so? that is uncharitably spoken."

And the Lord Cobham said: "Not only is it my saying, but also the Prophet Esayas, long afore my time. *The Prophet*, saith he, *which preacheth lies, is the taile behind.* For as you Friers and Monkes be (like Pharisies) divided in your outward apparell and usages, so make yee division among the people. And thus, you with such other, are the very naturall members of Antichrist."

Then said he unto them all: "Christ saith in his Gospell, *Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisies, Hypocrites; for yee close up the kingdome of heaven before men; neither enter yee in your selves, nor yet suffer any other that would enter into it;* but yee stop up the waies thereunto with your owne traditions, and therefore are yee the houshold of Antichrist. Yee will not permit Gods veritie to have passage, nor yet to be taught of his true ministers, fearing to have your wickednesse reproved. But by such flatterers as uphold you in your mischiefes, yee suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced."

Then said the Archbishop: "By our Lady sir, there shal none such preach within my dioces (and God wil,) nor yet in my jurisdiction (if I may know it) as either maketh division, or yet dissention among the poore commons."

The Lord Cobham said: "Both Christ and his Apostles were accused of sedition making, yet were they most peaceable men. Both Daniel and Christ prophecied that such a troublous time should come, as hath not beene yet since the worlds beginning. And this prophecie is partly fulfilled in your daies and doings; for many have ye slaine alreadie, and more will yee slay hereafter, if God fulfill not his promise. Christ saith also, if those daies of yours were not shortned, scarcely should any flesh be saved: therefore looke for it justly, for God will shorten your daies. Moreover, though Priests and Deacons for preaching of Gods word, and for ministring the sacraments, with provision for the poore, be grounded on Gods law, yet have these other sects no maner of ground hereof, so farre as I have read."

Then a Doctor of law, called master John Kempe, plucked out of his bosome a copy of the bill which they had afore sent him into the tower, by the Archbishops counsell, thinking therby to make shorter worke with him. For they were so amazed with his answeres (not all unlike to them which disputed with Stephen) that they knew not well how to occupie the time, their wits and sophistrie (as God would) so failed them that day.

"My Lord Cobham (saith this Doctor) we must briefely know your minde concerning these foure points heere following. The first of them is this; and then he read upon the bill; The faith and determination of holy Church touching the blessed sacrament of the altar is this, That after the sacramentall words be once spoken of a Priest in his masse, the materiall bread that was before bread, is turned into Christs very body: and the materiall wine is turned into Christs bloud. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the altar from thence-

thenceforth no materiall bread nor materiall wine, which were there before the sacramentall words were spoken. Sir beleeve yee not this?"

The Lord Cobham said: "This is not my beliefe. But my faith is (as I said to you afore) that in the worshipfull sacrament of the altar, is Christs very bodie in forme of bread."

Then said the Archbishop: "sir John yee must say otherwise."

The Lord Cobham said: "Nay, that I shall not, if God be upon my side (as I trust he is.) but that there is Christs body in forme of bread, as the common beliefe is."

Then read the doctour againe.

"The second point is this: Holy church hath determined, that every Christian man living heere bodily upon earth, ought to be shriven of a Priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him. Sir, what say you to this?"

The Lord Cobham answered and said: "As diseased or sore wounded man, hath need to have a sure wise Chirurgian and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the same. Most necessarie were it therefore to be first shriven unto God which only knoweth our diseases, and can helpe us. I denie not in this the going to a priest, if he be a man of good life and learning: For the lawes of God are to be required of the priest, which is godly learned. (Malachi. 2.) But if he be an idiote, or a man of vitious living that is my Curate, I ought rather to flie from him than to seeke unto him: For sooner might I catch evill of him that is naught, than any goodnesse towards my soules health."

Then read the doctour againe.

"The third point is this: Christ ordained S. Peter the Apostle to be his vicar heere in earth, whose see is the church of Rome. And he granted that

that the same power which he gave unto Peter, should succeed to all Peters successours, which we call now Popes of Rome; by whose speciall power in churches particular, be ordained prelates and Archbishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more, unto whom Christian men ought to obey after the lawes of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. Sir, beleeve ye not this?"

To this he answered and said: "He that followeth Peter most nighest in pure living, is next unto him in succession. But your Lordly order esteemeth not greatly the lowly behaviour of poore Peter, whatsoever yee prate of him. Neither care yee greatly for the humble maners of them that succeeded him, till the time of Silvester, which for the more part were martyrs, as I told you before. Yee can let all their good conditions goe by you, and not hurt your selves with them at all. All the world knoweth this wel enough by you, and yet yee can make boast of Peter."

With that, one of the other doctors asked him; "Then what do yee say of the Pope?"

The Lord Cobham answered: "As I said before: He and you together maketh whole the great Antichrist. Of whom he is the great head, you bishops, priests, prelates, and monkes are the body, and the begging friers are the taile, for they cover the filthinesse of you both with their subtile sophistrie. Neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you with Peter follow Christ in conversation."

Then read the doctor againe.

"The fourth point is this: Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a christian man, to goe on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy reliques and images of

of Saints, Apostles, Martyrs, Confessors, and all other Saints besides, approved by the church of Rome. Sir what say yee to this?"

Whereunto he answered: "I owe them no service by any commandement of God, and therefore I minde not to seeke them for your covetousnesse. It were best ye swept them faire from copwebs and dust, and so laide them up for catching of scathe: or else to burie them faire in the ground as ye doe other aged people which are Gods images.

"It is a wonderfull thing, that Saints now being dead, should become so covetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, which all their life time hated all covetousnesse and begging. But this I say unto you, and I would all the world should marke it, that with your shrines and idols, your fained absolutions and pardons, ye draw unto you the substance, wealth, and chiefe pleasures of all christian Realmes."

"Why sir (said one of the clerkes) will ye not worship good images?"

"What worship should I give unto them?" said the Lord Cobham.

Then said Frier Palmer unto him: "Sir, will ye worship the crosse of Christ, that he died upon?"

"Where is it[6]," said the Lord Cobham?

The

[6] *Where is it.*] In the beads or bidding prayer used before, or in the course of Sermons, this anciently was always one of the petitions directed to be put up. "Ye shall prave for the Holy londe, and for the holy-crosse that Jhesu Cryste dyed on for the redempcyon of mannes soule, that it may come into the power of Crysten men, the more to be honoured for our prayers." *Festival*, fol. 203. And in the ancient form printed by Henry Wharton—"for the holy Lond, and for the holy Croys, that Jhesu Christ sendt it out of Hedne mennys honde, into Cristin mennys honde." *Specimen of Errors*, &c. by Auth. Harmer,

The Frier said: "I put you the case sir, that it were heere even now before you."

The Lord Cobham answered: "This is a great wise man, to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himselfe knoweth not where the thing it selfe is. Yet once againe I aske you, what worship I should doe unto it?"

A clerke said unto him: "Such worship as Paul speaketh of, and that is this: *God forbid that I should joy, but only in the crosse of Jesu Christ.*" (Galat. 6.)

Then said the Lord Cobham, and spread his armes abroad: "This is a very crosse[7], yea, and so

Harmer, p. 166. The injury and error that was occasioned and cherished by the Crusades, and was consequent upon the various other species of devotion in honour of the *material* cross of Christ, so prevalent in those ages, was a frequent topic of complaint among the Reformers. Sir Thomas More tells us that "Luther wished in a Sermon of his, that he had in his honde all the peices of the holy crosse, and said that if he so had, he would throw them there as never sonne sholde shyne on them.—And for what worshipfull reason woulde the wretche do such villanye to the crosse of Christ? Bycause, as he saith, that there is so moche golde nowe bestowed about the garnyshynge of the peces of the crosse, that there is none lefte for poore folke. Is not this an high reason? As though all the golde that is nowe bestowed about the peces of the holy Crosse would not have failed to have been geven to poore men, if they had not been bestowed about the garnishing of the Crosse: And as though there were nothyng lost, but that is bestowed about Christes crosse." *Dialogue concerning Heresies*, Book I. chap. 2. Works, p. 119.

7 *This is a very crosse.*] Thus, in the interesting story of Margery Backster, the wife of a common mechanic in the Diocese of Norwich, we find it deposed against her, a few years after the execution of Lord Cobham, that "she demanded of the deponent what she did every day at church; who answered that shee kneeled downe and said five *Pater nosters*, in worship of the Crucifix, and as many *Ave Maries*, in worship of our Ladie. Whom Margerie rebuked, saying: You do evill to kneele or pray to such images in the Churches, for

so much better than your crosse of wood, in that it was created of God: Yet will not I seeke to have it worshipped."

for God dwelleth not in such Churches, neither shall come downe out of heaven, and will give you no more reward for such prayer, than a candle lighted and set under the cover of the Font, will give light by night to those which are in the Church: saying moreover in English, Lewd wrights of stocks hew and forme such crosses and images, and after that, lewd painters gleere them with colours. And if you desire so much to see the *true crosse of Christ*, I will shewe it you at home in your owne house, which this deponent being desirous to see, the said Margery, *stretching out her armes abroad*, said to this deponent, *this is the true crosse* of Christ, and this crosse thou oughtest, and maist every day behold and worship in thine owne house; and therefore it is but vaine to run to the Church to worship dead crosses and images." Fox's *Acts*, p. 610. Again, early in the reign of Henry VIII, in the severe persecution under Longlands, Bishop of Lincoln, John Baker, being urged upon his oath, disclosed against John Edmunds, that in talking together of pilgrimages, the said Edmunds bade him go *offer* his money to the *Image of God*. When the other asked, what that was, he said, that the image of God was the poore people, blind and lame: and said he offended Almighty God in going on pilgrimage. Fox's *Acts*, p. 763. And hence was derived a frequent topic for argument and eloquence in popular discourses. "How think you? (says Dr. Robert Barnes after quoting a passage of St. Clement) Doth not this condemne the worshyppyng of Images, yea though it be in the honour of God? Hee sheweth you also that there is no other *true Image* but Man.—Which of you all goe a pilgrimage to that Image? Which of you all doe *offer* to that Image? Which of you all doe honour that Image?—What say you to this? How can you avoide this? Is not this agreable with Scriptures? And yet this Image doe you despise. This Image cast you in prison. This Image doe you stocke and chayne, and whippe from towne to towne, without any cause. This Image dyeth in the streates beefore your doores for hunger and colde, and you runne to Walsingham and to Ipswiche with great pompe and pride to honour your dead shadowes. It were better for you to burne Idolles, and to warme this true Image of God thereby. Yea you have burnt many a poore man for speakyng against these dumme Idolles." Barnes's *Works*, p. 346. edit. 1572.

Then

Then said the Bishop of London: "Sir, yee wote well that he died on a materiall crosse."

The lord Cobham said: "Yea, and I wote also that our salvation came not in by that materiall crosse, but alone by him which died thereupon. And well I wote, that holy Saint Paul rejoiced in none other crosse, but in Christs passion and death only, and in his owne sufferings of like persecution with him, for the selfesame veritie that he had suffered for afore."

Another clerke yet asked him; "Will yee then doe none honour to the holy crosse[s]?"

He

[s] *Honour to the holy crosse.*] The superstitious, not to say idolatrous, ceremonies which were used in honour of the Holy Cross, especially in processions, deservedly called forth the animadversions of the early Reformers. "In *eeldir daies*, whanne procession was maad in Palme-Sunday, before masse, *the eucharist* was not brought forte, that the processioun of the Clarkis and of the Lay people schulde meete with him, but a *bare uncoverid crosse* was brought forth agens the processioun, as y have red in diverse oolde ordinalis of Cathedrale Churches, and of monasteries in Ynglond. In tho daies, and in tho placis whanne and where the processioun mette with the nakid Crosse, summe of the Clerkis were ordeyned for to stonde bifore the seid crosse, and for to turne hem toward the processioun, and seie in singing to al the clergie and peple thus, *Lo the kynge mylde and meke*, &c. And than the priestis and peple fellen down, kneling with all her knees to the grounde, seying or singing, or in both maners, toward the seid discovered crosse thus, *Heil thou whom the peple of Hebrees meeting witnesseth to be Jesus.* Lastly, it was objected, that to whatever thing men offren in lowest wise, coming toward it by creping, and whose feet they kissen in devoutist maner they kunnen, thilk thing thei taken for her sovereignest and highest Lord;—but so it is, that to the crosse, in Good Fridai, men comen in lowest wise, creeping on alle her knees, and to this crosse in so low and devout maner thei offren, and the feet of thilk crosse thei in devoutist maner kissen, &c." Lewis's *Life of Pecock*, p. 104. It may be a matter of curiosity to learn what was urged in reply to these objections. The sum of the defence made for these ceremonies is contained in a short extract

He answered him: "Yes, if it were mine owne, I would lay him up honestly, and see unto him that he should take no more scath abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now a daies."

Then said the archbishop unto him: Sir John, ye have spoken heere manie wonderfull words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spiritualtie, giving a great evill example unto the common sort heere, to have us in the more disdaine. Much time have we spent heere about you, and all in vaine so far as I can see. Well, we must now be at this short point with you, for the day passeth away. Ye must otherwise submit your selfe to the ordinance of holie church, or else throw your selfe (no remedie) into most deepe danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be else too late."

The lord Cobham said, "I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Much more have you offended me, than ever I offended you, in thus troubling me before this multitude."

Then said the archbishop againe unto him, "Wee once again required to remember your selfe well,

from Bishop Pecock, "Al this is doon (says he) not to the Crosse itself but to Christis persoun in his manhede, which is imagined there to be *in*, and *with* the ymage crucified, heed to heed, hond to hond, foot to foot, thoug it be not trowid so to be, but thoug the contrarie is trowid to be." Ibid. p. 111. How far the Puritans, in the next age, carried their abhorrence against all ceremonial use whatever of the Cross need not in this place be insisted on. But even in earlier times, a learned and zealous enemy of the Reformation informs us that, "Some sinfull wretches were there, that digged up, and overthrewe the crosses in highe wayes, which were sette up, partly to make men that passed by remember Christes death and passion, and partly to shewe *them* the right way, that knew not the same. Who I pray you would thinke, that these folkes bare any good affection to our Saviour Christ, which could neither abide his image, nor the holesome signe of his Crosse?" Christopherson's *Exhortation against Rebellion*, Signat. U. 1. b. A. D. 1554.

and

and to have none other manner opinion in these matters, than the universall faith and beliefe of the holie church of Rome is. And so like an obedient child returne againe to the unitie of your mother. See to it I say in time, for yet yee may have remedie, whereas anon it will be too late."

The lord Cobham said expresslie before them all, "I will none otherwise beleeve in these points, than that I have told you here afore. Do with me what ye will."

Finallie, then the archbishop said, "Well, then I see none other but we must needs do the law: We must proceed forth to the sentence definitive, and both judge you, and condemne you for an heretike."

And with that, the archbishop stood up, and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergie and laitie vailing their bonets[9]. And this was the tenor thereof.

The definitive Sentence of his Condemnation.

In the name of God: So be it. We Thomas [illegible] by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canturburie, Metropolitan, and primate of all England, and legat from the apostolike See of Rome, willeth this to be knowne unto all men. In a certaine cause of heresie and upon divers articles, whereupon sir John Oldcastle knight, and lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before us in our

[9] *Vailing their bonets.*] "Then the Bishop, after deliberation, *putting off his cap*, said, In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, Amen. Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus: and making a crosse on his forehead and his breast, by the counsell of the other bishops, he gave sentence against Maister Bilney, being there present." Fox's *Acts*, p. 914.

last convocation of all our province of Canturburie, holden in the cathedrall church of Pauls at London: At the lawfull denouncement and request of our universall clergie in the said convocation, we proceeded against him according to the law (God to witnesse) with all the favour possible. And following Christs example in all that we might, *which willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live;* we tooke upon us to correct him, and sought all other waies possible to bring him againe to the churches unitie, declaring unto him what the holy and universall church of Rome hath said, holden, determined, and taught in that behalfe. And though we found him in the catholike faith farre wide, and so stifnecked, that he would not confesse his error, nor purge himselfe, nor yet repent him thereof: we yet pitying him of fatherlie compassion, and entirely desiring the health of his soule, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if he would repent and seeke to be reformed: [illegible] that time we have found him worse [illegible] well. Considering therefore, that he is no[illegible]; are driven to the verie extremitie [illegible] not to the with great heavinesse of heart, w[illegible] which I the publication of the sentence d[illegible]itive, against him."

Then brought he forth another bill, containing the said sentence, and that he read also in his beggerlie Latine, *Christi nomine invocato, ipsumque solum præ oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitata*, and so forth. Which I have also translated into English, that men may understand it.

"Christ we take unto witnesse, that nothing else we seeke in this our whole enterprise, but his only glorie. For as much as we have found by divers acts done, brought forth and exhibited by sundrie evidences,

evidences, signes, and tokens, and also by manie most manifest proofes, the said Sir John Oldcastle knight, and Lord Cobham, not only to be an evident heretike in his owne person, but also a mightie maintainer of other heretikes against the faith and religion of the holie and universall church of Rome; namely, about the two sacraments (of the altar, and of penance) besides the popes power, and pilgrimages: And that hee as the child of iniquitie and darknesse, hath so hardened his heart, that he will in no case attend unto the voice of his pastor; neither will he be allured by strait admonishments, nor yet be brought in by favourable words: The worthinesse of the cause first weighed on the one side, and his unworthinesse againe considered on the otherside, his faults also aggravated or made double through his damnable obstinacie, wee (being loth that he which is nought should be worse, and so with his contagiousnesse infect the multitude) by the sage counsell and assent of the very discreet fathers, our honorable brethren and lords, bishops heere present, Richard of London, Henrie of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great learned and wise men heere, both doctors of divinitie, and of the lawes canon and civill, seculars and religious, with divers othe expert men assisting us: we sententially and definitively by this present writing, judge, declare, and condemne the said Sir John Oldcastle, knight, and Lord Cobham, for a most pernicious and detestable heretike, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the church againe, committing him heere from henceforth as a condemned heretike to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, to do him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accursed, not onlie this heretike heere present, but so many else besides,

sides, as shall hereafter in favour of his error, either receive him or defend him, counsell him or helpe him, or any other way maintaine him, as verie fautors, receivers, defenders, counsellers, aiders, and maintainers of condemned heretikes.

"And that these premisses may be the better knowne of all faithfull christian men, we commit it here unto your charges, and give you strait commandement thereupon by this writing also: That ye cause this condemnation and definitive sentence of excommunication, concerning both this heretike and his fautors, to bee published throughout all diocesses, in cities, townes, and villages, by your curats and parish priests, at such times as they shall have most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this sort: As the people are thus gathered devoutly together, let the curat everie where goe into the pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound this process in the mother tongue, in an audible and intelligible voice, that it may be perceived of all men, and that upon the feare of this declaration also, the people may fall from their evil opinions conceived now of late by seditious preachers. Moreover we will, that after wee have delivered unto each one of you bishops which are heere present, a copie hereof, that ye cause the same to be written out againe into divers copies, and to be sent unto the other bishops and prelats of our whole province, that they may also see the contents thereof solemnely published within their diocesses and cures. Finally, we wil that both you and they signifie againe unto us seriously and distinctly by your writings as the matter is, without fained colour in everie point performed, the day whereon ye received this processe, the time when it was of you executed, and after what sort it was done in everie condition, according to the tenour

tenour hereof, that we may know it to be justly the same."

A copie of this writing sent Thomas Arundell the archbishop of Canturburie afterward from Maidstone the tenth day of October, within the same yeere of our Lord 1413, unto Richard Clifford the bishop of London, which thus beginneth; *Thomas permissione divina*, &c.

The said Richard Clifford sent another copie thereof, enclosed within his owne letters, unto Robert Maschall a Carmelite frier, which was then bishop of Hereford in Wales, written from Haddam the 23d day of October in the same yeere, and the beginning thereof is this; *Reverende in Christo pater*, &c.

This Robert Maschall directed another copie thereof from London the 27th day of November in the same yeere, inclosed in his owne commission also, unto his archdeacon and deanes in Hereford and Shrewsburie. And this is thereof the beginning; *Venerabilibus et discretis viris*, &c. In like manner did the other bishops within their diocesses.

After that the archbishop had thus read the bill of his condemnation, with most extremitie before the whole multitude; the Lord Cobham said with a most cheerefull countenance, "Though ye judge my bodie which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certaine and sure, that ye can do no harme to my soule, no more then could Satan upon the soule of Job. He that created that, will of his infinite mercie and promise save it, I have therein no maner of doubt. And as concerning these articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them even to the verie death, by the grace of my eternall God."

And therewith he turned him unto the people,

casting his hands abroad, and saying with a verie loude voice, "Good christian people, for Gods love be well ware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindling into hel with themselves. For Christ saith plainly unto you, *If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch.*" Matt. 10.

After this, he fell downe there upon his knees, and thus before them all praied for his enemies, holding up both his hands and his eies towards heaven and saying, "Lord God eternall, I beseech thee of thy great mercies sake, to forgive my pursuers, if it be thy blessed will." And then he was delivered to Sir Robert Morlie, and so led forth againe to the tower of London. And thus was there an end of that daies worke.

While the Lord Cobham was thus in the tower, he sent out privilie unto his friends, and they at his request wrote this little bill heere following, causing it to be set up in divers quarters of London; that the people should not beleeve the slanders and lies that his enemies the bishops servants and priests had made on him abroad. And thus was the letter.

"For as much as Sir John Oldcastle knight, and Lord Cobham, is untruelie convicted and imprisoned, falsely reported and slandered among the common people by his adversaries, that he should otherwise both thinke and speake of the sacraments of the church, and speciallie of the blessed sacrament of the altar, then was written in the confession of his beliefe, which was indented and taken to the clergie, and so set up in divers open places in the citie of London: knowne be it heere to all the world, that he (never since) varied in any point therefro, but this is plainlie his beliefe, that all the sacra-

sacraments of the church be profitable and expedient also to all them that shall be saved, taking them after the intent that Christ and his true church hath ordained. Furthermore he beleeveth, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is verilie and truly Christs bodie in forme of bread."

After this, the bishops and priests were in much great discredit both with the nobilitie and commons, partlie for that they had so cruelly handled the good Lord Cobham; and partlie againe, because his opinion (as they thought at that time) was perfect concerning the sacrament. The prelats feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them both waies, wherefore they drew their heads together, and at the last consented to use another practise somewhat contrarie to that they had done afore. They caused it by and by to be blowne abroad by their feed servants, friends, and babling Sir Johns[1], that the said Lord Cobham was

[1] *Babling Sir Johns.*] *Sir John, Sir John Lack-Latin*, &c. were names of derision in common use among the reformers for the curates, and lower orders of the popish clergy. Thus William Tindal in his Practice of Prelates: "There one sort are your Grace, your Holines, your Fatherhode: another, my Lord Bishop, my Lord Abbot, my Lord Pryor: another, master Doctour, Father Bachelar, mayster Parson, maister Vicar, and at the last commeth in *simple Syr John*." Works. p. 343. edit. 1572. Christopherson, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, gives the following querulous representation of the manner in which the orthodox clergy were teized by impertinent and heretical disputants, during the reign of heresy under Edward VI. "Yf a man were a good vertuous priest, he had bene better a great deale to have lived amonge Turkes and Saracenes, then among this kind of folke; by reason that whensoever they mette with him in anye place, they wouldе aske him: Nowe *Syr John*, where fynde you your masse in Scripture; or who gave you auctoritie to make God?" Christopherson *Against Rebellion*. signat. T 4. A. D. 1554. Nor were these liberties taken merely with *simple Sir John*. *Master Parson* himself came in for his share. "Than begynneth

was becomen a good man, and had lowlie submitted himselfe in all things unto holy church, utterly changing his opinion concerning the sacrament. And thereupon, they counterfeited an abjuration in his name, that the people should take no hold of that opinion by any thing they had heard of him before; and so to stand the more in awe of them, considering him so great a man, and by them subdued.

"This is the abjuration (say they) of Sir John Oldcastle knight, sometime the Lord Cobham.

"In Dei nomine: Amen. I John Oldcastle denounced, detected, and convicted, of and upon divers articles savouring both heresie and errour, before the reverend father in Christ and my good lord, Thomas by the permission of God, lord archbishop of Canturburie, and my lawfull and rightfull judge in that behalfe, expressely grant and confesse, that as concerning the estate and power of the most holy father the pope of Rome, of his archbishops, his bishops, and his other prelats, the degrees of the church, and the holy sacraments of the same, specially of the sacraments of the altar, of penance, and other observances besides of our mother holie church, as pilgrimages and pardons: I affirme (I saie) before the said reverend father archbishop and elsewhere, that I being evill seduced by divers seditious preachers, have grievouslie erred, and hereticallie persisted, blasphemouslie

begynneth one or another to move some subtyle question, saying, *Mayster person*, howe say ye to suche a texte of Paule? And if the priest be ignoraunt for lacke of lernynge, or maketh not answere satysfyenge his mynde; he is mocked and jested upon with scornefull derysyon." Barlowe's *Dialogue concerning the Lutheran Factions*, signat. L 4. edit. 1553. Compare Hoggard's *Displaying of Protestants*. fol. 87. A. D. 1556.

answer-

answered, and obstinatelie rebelled. And therefore I am by the said reverend father, before the reverend fathers in Christ also, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor, lawfullie condemned for an heretike.

"Nevertheless, yet, I now remembring my selfe, and coveting by this meane to avoid that temporall paine which I am worthie to suffer as an heretike, at the assignation of my most excellent christian prince and liege lord, king Henrie the fifth, now by the grace of God most worthie king both of England and of France; minding also to preferre the wholesome determination, sentence, and doctrine of the holie universall church of Rome, before the unwholesome opinions of my selfe, my teachers, and my followers, I freelie, willinglie, deliberatelie, and throughlie confesse, grant, and affirme, that the most holie fathers in Christ, Saint Peter the apostle and his successors bishops of Rome, speciallie now at this time, my most blessed lord pope John, by the permission of God, the three and twentith pope of that name, which now holdeth Peters seat (and each of them in their succession) hath full strength and power to be Christs vicar in earth, and the head of the church militant. And that by the strength of his office, he hath full authoritie and power to rule and governe, bind and loose, save and destroy, accurse and assoyle all other christian men.

"And agreeably still unto this, I confesse, grant, and affirme all other archbishops, bishops, and prelats in their provinces, diocesses, and parishes (appointed by the said pope of Rome, to assist him in his doings or businesse) by his decrees, canons, or vertue of his office, to have had in times past, to have now at this time, and that they ought to have in time to come, authoritie and power to rule

rule and governe, bind and loose, accurse and assoyle the subjects or people of their aforesaid provinces, diocesses, and parishes, and that their said subjects or people ought of right in all things to obey them. Furthermore, I confesse, grant, and affirme, that the said spirituall fathers, our most holie father the pope, the archbishops, bishops, and prelats, have had, have now, and ought to have hereafter, authoritie and power for the estate, order, and governance of their subjects or people, to make lawes, decrees, statutes, and constitutions, yea and to publish, command, and compell their said subjects and people to the observation of them.

"Moreover, I confesse, grant, and affirme, that all these foresaid lawes, decrees, statutes, and constitutions made, published, and commanded, according to the forme of spirituall law, all christian people, and every man in himselfe is straitly bound to observe, and meekelie to obey, according to the diversitie of the foresaid powers: As the lawes, statutes, canons, and constitutions of our most holie father the pope, incorporated in his decrees, decretals, clementines, codes, charts, rescripts, sextiles, and extravagants over all the world: and also the provinciall statutes of archbishops in their provinces, the synodall acts of bishops in their diocesses, and the commendable rules and customes of prelats in their colledges, and curats in their parishes, all christian people are both bound to observe, and also most meekelie to obey.

"Over and besides all this, I John Oldcastle utterlie forsaking and renouncing all the aforesaid errors and heresies, and all other errors and heresies like unto them, lay my hand here upon this booke or holie Evangelie of God, and sweare, that I shall never more from henceforth hold these afore-

aforesaid heresies, nor yet anie other like unto them wittinglie. Neither shall I give counsell, aid, helpe, nor favour at anie time, to them that shall hold, teach, affirme, or maintaine the same, as God shall helpe me, and these holie Evangelies.

"And that I shall from henceforth faithfully obey and inviolablie observe all the holie lawes, statutes, canons, and constitutions of all the popes of Rome, archbishops, bishops, and prelats, as are contained and determined in their holie decrees, decretals, clementines, codes, charts, rescripts, sextiles, sumspapall, extravagants, statutes provinciall, acts synodall, and other ordinarie regules and customes constituted by them, or that shall chance hereafter directlie to be determined or made. To these and all such other, will I my selfe with all power possiblie applie. Besides all this, the penance which it shall please my said reverend father the lord archbishop of Canturburie hereafter to enjoyne me for my sinnes, I will meekelie obey and faithfullie fulfill. Finallie, all my seducers and false teachers, and all other besides, whom I shall hereafter know suspected of heresie or errors, I shall effectuallie present, or cause to be presented unto my said reverend father, lord archbishop, or to them which have his authoritie, so soone as I can convenientlie do it, and see that they be corrected to my uttermost power."

Never came[2] this abjuracyon to the hands of the Lorde Cobham, neyther was yt compyled of them for that purpose, but onlye therwith to bleare the eyes of the unlearned multytude. And when they perseyved that polycye wolde not helpe, but made more and more agaynst them, then sought

[2] *Never came.*] That which follows, from this place to the end, being not equally full, or well-told in Fox, is taken from Bale's *Brefe Chronycle.*

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they out another false practyse. They went unto the kynge with a most grevouse complaynte, lyke as they did afore in his fathers tyme, that in everye quarter of the realme, by reason of Wycleaves opynions and the sayd Lorde Cobham, were wonderfull contencyons, rumours, tumultes, uproars, confederacyons, dyssencyons, divysyons, differences, dyscordes, harmes, slaunders, scysmes, sectes, sedycyons, perturbacyons, perils, unlawfull assemblyes, varyaunces, stryfes, fyghtynges, rebellyouse ruffelynges, and daily insurrecyons. The churche (they sayde) was hated; the dyocesans were not obeyed; the ordynaryes were not regarded; the spirituall offycers, as suffraganes, archdeacons, chauncellors, doctours, commyssaryes, offycyals, deans, lawers, scrybes, and sommeners were every where despysed; the lawes and lyberties of holye churche were troden under fote; the christian fayth was ruynouslye decayed; Gods servyce was laughed to scorne; the spirituale jurisdiccyon, auctoryte, honour, power, polycye, lawes, rytes, ceremonyes, curses, keyes, censures, and canonycall sanccyons of the churche were had in an uttre contempt: so that all in a maner was come to nought.

And the cause of this was, that the heretyques and lollars of Wycleaves opynyon, were suffered to preache abrode so boldelye, to gather conventycles unto them, to kepe scoles in mennys houses, to make bokes, compyle treatyses, and wryte balettes, to teache pryvatelye in angles and corners, as in wodes, feldes, medowes, pastours, groves, and in caves of the grounde. This wolde be (they sayde) a destruccyon to the common welthe, a subversyon to the lande, and an uttre decaye of the kynges estate ryall, yf remedye were not sought in tyme. And this was theyr polycye to cople the

kynges

kynges auctoryte with that they had done in theyr former counsell of craft, and so to make yt therby the strongar: For they perseved themselves verye farre to weake els, to followe agaynst theyr enemyes that they had so largelye enterprysed. Upon this complaynt the kynge immedyatlye called a parlament at Leycestre. It might not in those dayes be holden at Westmynstre, for the great fam that the Lorde Cobham had both in London, and abought the cyte. In the seyd parlament the kynge made this most blasphemouse and cruell acte, to be as a lawe for ever: That whatsoever they were that shulde reade the scripturs in the mother tonge (which was then called Wycleves learnyng) they shuld forfeit lande, cattele, bodye, lyfe, and goodes from theyr heyrs for ever, and so be condemned for heretyques to God, enemyes to the crowne, and moste errande trayters to the Lande.

Besydes this, yt was enacted that never a sanyet-warye nor pryveyleged grounde within the realme shuld holde them, though they were styll permytted both to theves[3] and mourtherers. And yf in case they wolde not give over, or were after theyr pardon relapsed, they shulde suffre death in two maner of kyndes. That is, they shulde fyrst be hanged for treason agaynst the kynge, and then be burned for heresye agaynst God, and yet neyther of both

[3] *Both to theves.*] Thus Wickliffe complains, "that great houses of religion, as Westminster, Beverly, and other chalengen, usen and maynteynen this priviledge, that whatever thief or felon come to this holy house of religion, he shall dwell there all his lyfe, and no man impeach him, though he owe poor men much goods, and have enough to paye it; and though he rob and slay every night many men out of the franchises, and every day come agen, he shall be meynteynid thereto by virtue of this open heresie." Lewis's *History of Wicklife*. p. 351.

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commytted. The begynnynge of that acte[4] is this: *Pro eo quod magni rumores*, &c. Anon after was yt proclaymed through out the realme: and than had the bysshoppes, prestes, monkes, and fryers a worlde so newhat to theyr myndes. For than were many taken in dyverse quarters, and suffered most cruell death. And manye fledde out of the lande into Germanye, Boheme, Fraunce, Spayne, Portyngale, and into the wolde of Scotlande, Wayles, and Irelande, workynge there manye marvyls agaynst theyr false kyngedome, to longe to wryte.

In the Chrystmas folowynge was syr Roger Acton, knight, mastre Johan Browne, esqr. syr John Beverlaye[5], a learned preacher, and dyverse other more attached for quarrellynge with certen prestes and so impresoned. For ale menne at that tyme coude not pacyentlye suffre theyr blasphemouse bragges.

The complaynte was made unto the kynge of them, that they had made a great assemblye in saynct Gyles felde at London, purposynge the destruccyon of the lande, and the subversyon of the common welthe. As the kynge was thus informed,

[4] *The beginning of that Acte.*] The Act is printed intire by Fox. p. 524—525. But, in several particulars, it does not correspond with this description.

[5] *Syr Johan Beverlaye.*] "Such priests as have the addition *Sir* (says Fuller, in his History of Abbies. p. 352) before their Christian name, were men *not graduated* in the university, being in *Orders* but not in *Degrees*." But according to other authorities, Sir was "a common title given formerly to clergymen of all degrees. See Rymer's *Foedera*, vol. vi. p. 86; and the Dramatis Personæ of many of Shakespeare's plays." Lowth's *Life of William of Wykeham*, p. 132. edit. 2d. Of a more recent date it has usually been appropriated to the degree of Batchelor. "*Sir* Barwick (to give him the stile of his degree) was deputed by the rest of his collegians." Barwick's *Life of Dr. John Barwick*, p. 12.

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he erected a banner (sayth Walden) with a crosse thereupon (as the pope doth commonlye by his legates, when he pretendeth to warre agaynst the Turke) and with a great numbre of menne entred the same felde, whereas he founde no soche companye: Yet was the complaynt judged true, bycause the bysshoppes had spoken yt at the infourmation of theyr prestes. All this hath Thomas Walden in dyverse of his workes, whych was at the same tyme a whyght or carmelyte fryre, and the kynges confessour: and partlye it is touched both by Robert Fabyane, and by Polydorus Vergilius, in theyr Englyshe chronycles, but not in all poyntes rightlye. In the meane season, syr Johan Oldcastele, the Lorde Cobham escaped out of the tower of London in the nyght, and so fledde into Walys, where as he continued more than four years after.

Some wryters have thought this escape to come by the seyd syr Roger Acton, and other gentylmenne in dyspleasure of the prestes, and that to be the chefe occasyon of theyr deathes, which myght well be, but Walden doth not so uttre yt, which regned the same selfe tyme. In Januarye next followynge was the afore named syr Roger Acton, master Johan Browne, syr Johan Beverlaye, and thirty six more (of whom the more parte were gentyll menne of byrthe) convicted of heresye by the byshoppes, and condemned of treason by the temporalte, and accordinge to the acte, were fyrst hanged and than brente in the seyde saynct Gyles Felde. In the same yeare also was one Johan Claydon, a skynner, and one Richard Turmyne, a baker, both hanged and brente in Smythfelde by that vertuouse acte; besydes that was done in all other quarters of Englande, which was

no small nombre yf yt were now thoroughlye knowen.

The latter Empresonynge and Death of the Lorde Cobham.

In the yeare of oure Lorde one thousand four hundred and fifteen, died Thomas Arrundell, which had beene archebyshoppe of Canterburye more than thirty two years, to the great destruccyon of Christen beleve. Yet dyed not his prodygyouse tyrannye with him, but succeded with his office in Henrye Chycheleye, and in a great sorte more of that spightfule spiritualte. For theyr malyce was not yet setled agaynst the goode Lorde Cobham. But they confedered with the Lorde Powys (which was at that tyme a great governour in Walys) fedynge him with lordlye gyftes and promyses to accomplyshe theyr desyre. He at the last thus monyed with Judas, and outwardlye pretendynge him great amyte and favour, most cowardlye and wretchedlye toke him, and in conclusyon so sent him up to London[o], where as he remayned a moneth or two impry-

[o] *Sent him up to London.*] Of this part of the story the account is told more fully in Fox. "Being committed to the tower, he escaped afterwards, and was in Wales about the space of foure yeares. In the which meane time a great summe of money was proclaimd by the king to him that could take the said Sir John Oldcastle, either quicke or dead. About the end of which foure yeares being expired, the Lord Powes, whether for love and greedinesse of the money, or whether for hatred of the true and sincere doctrine of Christ, seeking all maner of waies how to play the part of Judas, at length obtained his bloodie purpose, and brought the Lord Cobham bound up to London; which was about the yeare of our Lord 1417, and about the month of December; at which time was a parliament assembled at London. The records of which

imprysoned agayne in the tower. And after longe processe they condemned him agayne of heresye and treason by force of the afore named acte, he renderynge thankes unto God, that he had so appoynted him to suffre for his names sake.

And upon the daye appoynted, he was broughte out of the tower with his armes bounde behynde him, havynge a verye cheerefull countenaunce. Than was he layd upon an hardle, as though he had bene a most heynouse traytour to the crowne, and so drawne forth into saynct Gyles Felde, where as they had set up a newe payre of gallowes. As he was comen to the place of execution and was taken from the hardle, he fell downe devoutlye upon his knees, desyerynge Almyghtye God to forgeve his enemys. Than stode hee up and behelde the multytude, exhortynge them in most godlye maner, to followe the lawes of God wrytten in the scripturs, and in anye wyse to beware of soche teachers as they se contrarye to Christ in theyr conversacyon and lyvynge, with manye other specyall counsels. Than was he hanged up there by the myddle in cheanes of yron, and so consumed alyve in the fyre, praysynge the name of God, so longe as his lyfe lasted. In the ende he commended his sowle into the handes of God, and so departed hens most christenlye, his bodye resolved into ashes.

which parliament doe thus say: that on Tuesday the 13th day of December, Sir John Oldcastle, of Cowling, in the countie of Kent, knight, being outlawed in the king's bench, and excommunicated before by the archbishop of Canturburie for heresie, was brought before the Lords, and having heard his said convictions, answered not thereto in his excuse. Upon which record and processe, it was adjudged, that hee should be taken as a traitor to the king and the realme; that he should be caried to the tower of Loudon, and from thence drawen through London unto the new gallowes in Saint Giles without Temple Barre, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging." Fox's *Acts*. p. 591.

And this was done in the yeare of oure Lorde one thousand four hundred and eighteen, which was the sixt yeare of the regne of kynge Henrye the fyft, the people there present shewynge great dolour. How the prestes that time fared, blasphemed, and cursed, requyrynge the people not to praye for him, for that he departed not in the obedyence of theyr pope, yt were to long to wryte.

This terryble kynde of deathe with galowes, cheanes, and fyre, apereth not very precyouse in the eyes of menne that be carnall, no more than did the deathe of Christ, when he was hanged up amonge theves. *The righteous seemeth to dye* (sayth the wise manne) *in the syghte of them which are unwyse, and theyr end is taken for verye destruccyon. Ungodlye soles thynketh theyr lyves verye madnesse, and theyr passage hens without all honour. But though they suffre payne before menne* (sayth he), *yet is theyr expectation full of immortalyte. They are accounted for the chyldren of God, and have theyr just porcyon amonge the sayntes As golde in the fornace doth God trye his electes, and as a most pleasant brent offerynge receyveth he them to rest. The more harde the passage be, the more gloriouse shall they apere in the latter resurreccyon. Not that the afflictyons of this lyfe are worthye of soche a glorye, but that it is Gods heavenlye pleasure so to rewarde them. Never are the judgements and wayes of menne lyke unto the judgements and wayes of God, but contrarye evermore, unlesse they be taughte of him. In the latter time* (sayth the Lorde unto Daniel) *shall manye be chosen proved and puryfyed by fyre, yet shall the ungodlye live wickedly styll, and have no understandynge that is of faythe.*

By an angel from heven was Johan ernestlye commanded to wryte, that *blessed are the dead which hence departeth in the Lorde. Ryghte dere*

(saythe David) *in the sight of God is the dethe of his true servauntes.* Thus resteth this valeaunt christen knyghte Syr Johan Oldcastele, undre the aultre of God (which is Jesus Christ), amonge that godlye companye, which, in the kyngedome of patyence, suffred great tribulacyon with the deathe of theyr bodyes for his faythfull worde and testimonye, abydynge there with them the fulfyllynge of theyr whole nombre, and the full restauracyon of his electes. The which he grant in effect at his tyme appoynted, which is one God eternall! Amen.

SUPPLEMENTARY EXTRACTS.

INVENTION OF PRINTING.—PROGRESS OF REFORMATION AND OF PERSECUTION.—DEAN COLET, CHAUCER, &c.—MARTIN LUTHER.

How admirable are the ways of Providence! and how illustrious was its present dispensation! It directed the independent, the various, and the contrary Revolutions of *these times*, to rectify the mischiefs occasioned by the *past*: whereby that very Learning, which, in the first ages had been perverted to corrupt Christianity, was now employed to purify and restore it: that very Philosophy, which had been adopted to explain articles of faith, was now studied only to instruct us in the history of the human mind, and to assist us in developing its faculties, and regulating its operations: and those very systems, which had supported the whole body of School Divinity, now afforded the principles proper to overturn it.

BISHOP WARBURTON.

THE BENEFIT AND INVENTION OF PRINTING.

IN following the course, and order of yeeres, wee find the yeere of our Lord 1450. to be famous and memorable, for the divine and miraculous invention of printing. Nauclerus, and Wymselingus following him, referre the invention thereof to the yeere 1440. In paralip. Abbatis Urspergensis, it is recorded this facultie to be found, an. 1446. Aventinus and Zieglerus doe say, anno 1450. The first inventer thereof (as most agree) is thought to be a German, dwelling first in Argentine, afterwards citizen of Mentz, named John Faustus, a goldsmith. The occasion of this invention first was by engraving the letters of the alphabet in metal: who then laying blacke inke upon the metall, gave the forme of letters in paper. The man being industrious and active, perceiving that, thought to proceed further, and to prove whether it would frame as well in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in letters. Which when he perceived to come well to passe, hee made certaine other of his counsell, one John Guttemberge and Peter Schafferd, binding them by their oth, to keepe silence for a season. After ten yeeres, John Guttemberge compartner with Faustus, began then first to broch the matter at Strausbrough. The art being yet but rude, in processe of time, was set forward by inventive wits, adding more and more to the perfection thereof. In the number of whom, John Mentell, John Prus, Adolphus Ruschius, were great helpers. Ulricus Han,

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in Latine called Gallus, first brought it to Rome. Whereof the epigram was made:

Anser Tarpeii custos, vigilando quòd alis
Constreperes, Gallus decidit; ultor adest
Ulricus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in usum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.

Notwithstanding, what man soever was the instrument, without all doubt God himselfe was the ordainer and disposer thereof, no otherwise, than he was of the gift of tongues, and that for a similar purpose. And well may this gift of printing be resembled to the gift of tongues: for like as God then spake with many tongues and yet all that would not turne the Jewes; so now, when the Holy Ghost speaketh to the adversaries in innumerable sorts of bookes, yet they will not be converted, nor turne to the Gospell.

Now to consider to what end and purpose the Lord hath given this gift of printing to the earth, and to what great utility and necessity it serveth, it is not hard to judge, who-so wisely perpendeth both the time of the sending, and the sequel which thereof ensueth.

And first, touching the time of this faculty given to the use of man, this is to be marked: that when as the bishop of Rome with all the whole and full consent of the cardinals, patriarkes, archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, lawyers, doctors, provoses, deanes, archdeacons, assembled together in the councell of Constance, had condemned poore John Hus, and Hierome of Prage to death for heresie, notwithstanding they were no hereticks; and after they had subdued the Bohemians, and all the whole world under the supreme authority of the Romish see; and had made all christian people obedienciaries and vassals unto the same, having

ing (as one would say) all the world at their will, so that the matter now was past not onely the power of all men, but the hope also of any man to be recovered: in this very time so dangerous and desperate, where mans power could doe no more, there the blessed wisdome and omnipotent power of the Lord began to worke for his church, not with sword and arget to subdue his exalted adversary, but with printing, writing, and reading to convince darkness by light, errour by truth, ignorance by learning. So that by this meanes of printing, the secret operation of God hath heaped upon that proud kingdome a double confusion. For whereas the bishop of Rome had burned John Hus before, and Hierome of Prage, who neither denied his transubstantiation, nor his supremacie, nor yet his popish masse, but said masse, and heard masse themselves; neither spake against his purgatorie, nor any other great matter of his popish docrine, but onely exclaimed against his excessive and pompous pride, his unchristian or rather antichristian abomination of life: thus while he could not abide his wickednesse onely of life to be touched, but made it heresie, or at least matter of death, whatsoever was spoken against his detestable conversation and manners. God of his *secret judgement, seeing time to helpe his church, hath found a way by this faculty of printing*, not only to confound his life and conversation, which before he could not abide to be touched, but also to cast downe the foundation of his standing, that is, to examine, confute, and detect his doctrine, lawes, and institutions most detestable, in such sort, that though his life were never so pure, yet his doctrine standing as it doth, no man is so blind but may see, that either the pope is antichrist or else that antichrist is neere cosin to the pope: and

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all this doth, and will hereafter more and more appeare by printing.

The reason whereof is this: for that hereby tongues are knowne, knowledge groweth, judgement encreaseth, bookes are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, the doctours be read, stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falshood detected, and with finger pointed and all (as I said) through the benefit of printing Wherefore I suppose, that either the pope must abolish printing[1], or he must seeke a new world to reigne over: for else, as the world standeth, printing doubtlesse will abolish him. But the pope, and all his colledge of cardinalls, must this understand, that through the light of printing, the world beginneth now to have eyes to see, and heads to judge. He cannot walke so invisible in a net, but he will be spied. And although through might he stopped the mouth of John Hus before, and of Hierome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdome sure; yet in stead of John Hus and other, God hath opened the presse to preach, whose voice the pope is never able to stop with all the puissance of his triple crowne. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organe of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the Gospell soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven: and what God revealeth to one man, is dispersed to many; and what is knowne in one nation, is opened to all.

The first and best were for the bishop of Rome, by the benefit of printing, to learne and know the truth. If he will not, let him well understand,

[1] *Must abolish printing.*] So preached the vicar of Croydon in king Henry the VIIIth's days, at St. Paul's Cross, saying, either we must root out printing, or else printing will root out us. Fox.

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that printing is not set up for nought. To strive against the streame, it availeth not. What the pope hath lost since printing and the presse begun to preach, let him cast his counters. First, when Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius printed, what a blow thereby was given to all friers and monkes in the world! And who seeth not, that the pen of Luther following after Erasmus and set forward by printing, hath set the triple crowne so awry on the popes head, that it is like never to be set straight againe?

Brieflie, if there were no demonstration to leade, yet by this one argument of printing, the bishop of Rome might understand the councell and purpose of the Lord to worke against him, having provided such a way in earth, that almost how many printing presses there be in the world, so many blocke-houses there be against the high castle of saint Angell[1]: so that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing at length will roote him out. For if a man wisely consider the hold and standing of the pope, thus hee may repute with himselfe, that as nothing made the pope strong in time past, but lacke of knowledge and ignorance of simple christians: so contrariwise, now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high spire of his papacie so much as reading, preaching, knowledge, and judgement, that is to say, the fruit of printing. Whereof some experience we see already, and more is like (the Lord

[1] *High castle of saint Angell.*] "The castle of saint Angelo standeth on the banke of Tyber, in maner cleane without the towne; excellently wel builded and strong, and after most men's opinions is *impregnable, unlesse it be by famine*. Oftentymes the bishop hym selfe lieth in it, and kepeth his courte there." *Historie of Italie*, by William Thomas, 1549, 4to. fol. 41.

before)

before) to follow. For although, through outward force and violent cruelty, tongues dare not speake, yet the hearts of men daily (no doubt) bee instructed through this benefit of printing. And though the pope both now by cruelty, and in times past by ignorance, had all under his possession; yet neither must he thinke, that violence will alwaies continue, neither must he hope for that now, which he had then: forsomuch as in those former daies, bookes then were scarce and also of such excessive price, that few could attain to the buying, fewer to the reading and studying thereof; which bookes now by the meanes of this art, are made easie unto all men. Ye heard before, how Nicolas Belward, bought a New Testament in those daies for foure markes and fortiepence, whereas now the same price will serve well fortie persons with so many bookes [3].

Moreover, it was noted and declared by the testimony of Armachanus, how for defect of bookes and good authours, both Universities were decayed and good wits kept in ignorance, while begging friers scraping all the wealth from other priests, heaped up all bookes [4] that could be gotten, into their

[3] *With so many bookes*] See Fox's *Acts*, p. 611. "Archbishop Usher tells us, from the Register of William Alnewick, bishop of Norwich, 1429, quoted by Mr. Fox, that the price of one of Wickliffe's English New Testaments was four marks, and forty pence, or 2l. 16s. 8d." Lewis's *History of the English Translations of the Bible*, p. 25.

Precisely one hundred years after, the price of the printed copies of Tyndal's New Testament, notwithstanding they were brought from abroad, and could not be sold but at the peril of life, was only three shillings and two-pence. Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i. p. 38. Appendix.

[4] *Heaped up all bookes.*] In the passage referred to Armachanus (Fitz-ralph, archbishop of Armagh) complains, "that these begging friers through their priviledges obtained of the popes,

their owne libraries; where either they did not diligently applie them, or else did not rightly use them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would have perused them.

In this then so great rarity, and also dearth of good bookes, when neither they which could have bookes would well use them, nor they that would, could have them to use, what marvell if the greedi-

popes, to preach, to heare confessions, and to burie; and through their charters of impropriations, did grow thereby to such great riches and possessions, by their begging, craving, catching, and intermedling with church matters, that no booke could stirre of any science, either of divinitie, law or physicke, but they were both able and readie to buy it up. So that every convent having a great librarie full stuffed and furnished with all sorts of bookes, and being so many convents within the realme, and in every convent so many friers, increasing daily more and more, by reason thereof it came to passe, that very few bookes or none at all remained for other students. Which by his owne experience hee thus testifieth, saying, that hee himself sent forth to the Universitie some of his own priests or chaplains, who sending him word againe that they could neither find the Bible, nor any other good profitable booke of divinitie meet for their studie, therefore were minded to returne home to their countrie; and one of them, hee was sure, was returned by this time againe." Fox's *Acts*, p. 397. In like manner Wickliffe charges the frier "that they letten *(hinder)* curats to know Gods law, by holding bookes fro them, and withdrawing of their vantages, by which they shulden have books and lerne," *Treatife against the Friars.* P. 56. And Jack Upland (Chaucer's Works, p. 619. edit. 1687.) expostulates with them, for the same reason, thus: "Freer, what charitie is this, to gather up the bookes of holy write, and put hem in treasorie, and so emprison them from secular priests and curats, and by this cautel let hem to preach the gospel freely to the people without worldly meed, and also to defame good priests of heresie, and lien on hem openly for to let hem to shew Gods law by the holy gospel to the christian people?" In fact, to make way for themselves, it was necessary to degrade the parochial clergy in the estimation of the people, and to effect this, they made use of arts and policies the most base and execrable.

nesse of a few prelats did abuse the blindnes of those daies, to the advancement of themselves? Wherefore Almighty God of his mercifull providence, seeing both what lacked in the church, and how also to remedie the same, for the advancement of his glory, gave the understanding of this excellent art or science of printing, whereby three singular commodities at one time came to the world. First, the price of all bookes diminished. Secondly, the speedy helpe of reading more furthered. And thirdly, the plentie of all good authors enlarged: according as Aprutinus, doth truely report:

Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno.

The presse in one day will doe in printing,
That none in one yeere can doe in writing.

By reason wherof, as printing of bookes ministred matter of reading, so reading brought learning, learning shewed light, by the brightnesse wherof blind ignorance was suppressed, errour detected, and finally Gods glory, with truth of his word advanced. This faculty of printing was after the invention of guns, the space of 130 yeares; which invention was also found in Germany in the year 1380. And thus much for the worthie commendation of printing.

Progress of Reformation.

In turning over the registers and records of Lincolne, and comming to the yeere of our Lord 1520. and 1521. I finde, that as the light of the Gospel began more to appeare, and the number of the professors to grow, so the vehemence of persecution, and stirre of the bishops began also to increase.

crease. Whereupon ensued great perturbation and greevous affliction in divers and sundry quarters of this realme, especially about Buckinghamshire, and Amersham, Uxbridge, Henley, Newbery, in the diocesse of London, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolke and Norfolke, and other parts moe. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in these countries among the people. Wherefore they are much beguiled and misse informed, which condemne this kind of doctrine now received, of novelty, asking where was this church and religion forty yeeres agoe, before Luthers time? To whom it may be answered, that this religion and forme of doctrine was planted by the Apostles, and taught by true bishops, afterward decaied, and now reformed againe. Although it was not received nor admitted of the popes clergy before Luthers time, neither yet is, yet it was received of other, in whose hearts it pleased the Lord secretly to worke, and that of a great number, which both professed and suffered for the same, as in the former times of this history may appeare. And if they thinke this doctrine be so new, that it was not heard of before Luthers time, how then came such great persecution before Luther's time here in England? If these were of the same profession which they were of, then was their cruelty unreasonable, so to persecute their owne catholike fraternity. And if they were otherwise, how then is this doctrine of the Gospel so new, or the professors thereof so late start up, as they pretend them to be? But this commeth onely of ignorance, and for not knowing nor considering well the times and antiquities of the church which have been before us. Which if they did, they should see and say, that the church of England hath not lacked great multitudes, which tasted and followed the

sweetnesse of Gods holy word, almost in as ample manner, for the number of well disposed hearts, as now. Although publike authority then lacked to maintaine the open preaching of the Gospell, yet the secret multitude of true professors, was not much unequall; certes the fervent zeal of those christian daies seemed much superior to these our daies and times: as manifestly may appeare by their sitting up all night [1] in reading and hearing, also

[1] *Sitting up all night.*] We may easily conceive that these retired and domestic interviews of individuals, often the most lowly and humble, gave birth to some of the most affecting situations that were produced during the whole progress of the Reformation.

"The crimes whereupon he was examined, and confessed, were these: that he had been five times with William Sweeting in the fields keeping beasts, hearing him reade many good things out of a certaine booke. At which reading also were present of one time, Woodroffe, a net-maker, with his wife: also a brother in law of William Sweeting: and another time, Thomas Goodred, who heard likewise the said Thomas Sweeting reade." Fox's *Acts*, p. 748. These meetings occurred more commonly because reading was then a rare accomplishment. To Robert Wisdom it was objected, in the year 1540, among other articles, that he said, "I trust to God to se the day, that maydes will sing the Scripture at their wheels, and plowmen at their plow." To which charge he replied, "I thank God, thorow my Lord Jesu Christ, I have sene that day." Strype's *Eccles ast. Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 323. Appendix. "In the year 1532, Thomas Harding, about Easter holidaies, when the other people went to the church, tooke his way into the woodes, there solitarily to worship the true living God, in spirit and truth. Where, as he was occupied in a booke of English praiers, leaning or sitting upon a stile by the woodes side, it chanced that one did espie him where he was, and came in great haste to the officers of the towne, decluring that hee had seene Harding in the woodes looking on a booke. Whereupon immediatlie a rude rabble of them, like mad-men, ran desperately to his house, to search for bookes; and in searching wont so nigh, that under the bords of his floore, they found certain English bookes of holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly father with his bookes, was brought

also by their expences and charges in buying of bookes in English: of whom some gave five marks, some more, some lesse for a booke. Some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of S. James or of S. Paul in English. In which rarity of bookes, and want of teachers, this one thing I greatly marvel and muse at, to note in the registers, and to consider how the word of truth notwithstanding did multiply so exceedingly, as it did amongst them. Wherein is to be seene no doubt the marvellous working of Gods mighty power. For so I finde and observe in considering the Registers, how one neighbor resorting and conferring with another, eftsoones with a few words of their first or second talke, did winne and turne their mindes to that wherein they desired to perswade them, touching the truth of Gods word and his sacraments. To see their travels, their earnest seeking, their burning zeales, their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful marrying with the faithful, may make us now in these our daies of free profession to blush for shame.

Foure principall points they stood in against the church of Rome; in pilgrimage, adoration of saints, in reading scripture bookes in English, and in the carnall presence of Christs body in the sacrament.

brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincolne." Fox's *Acts*, p. 896. The event was that he was burnt, as a relapsed heretic. Such as died in prison, we are told, were wont to be thrown out to dogs and birds, as unworthy of christian burial. "And yet, all this their mercilesse commandement, notwithstanding, some good men there were, which buried those commonly who were thrown out in like sort, whom they were wont privily by night to cover; and many times the archers in the fields standing by, and singing together psalmes at their buriall." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1629.

After the great abjuration under William Smith bishop of Lincolne, they were noted and termed among themselves by the name of *knowne men, or just fast men;* as now they are called by the name of *Protestants.*

As they were simple, and yet not uncircumspect in their doings, so the crafty serpent being more wily than they, by fraudulent subtilty did so circumvent them, that they caused the wife to detect the husband[2], the husband the wife; the father the daughter, the daughter the father; the brother to disclose the brother, and neighbor the neighbor. Neither were there any assemblies nor readings kept, but both the persons and also the bookes were knowne: neither was any word so closely spoken, nor article mentioned, but it was discovered. So subtilly and sleightly these catholike prelats did use their inquisitions and examinations, that nothing was done or said among these *knowne men,* fifteene or twenty yeeres before, so covertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious interrogatories, so many articles and suspitions they had, such espials and privy scouts they sent abroad, such authority and credit they had with the king, and in the kings name; such diligence they shewed in that behalfe, so violently and impudently they abused the booke of the peaceable Evangelists, wresting mens consciences

[2] *The wife to detect the husband.*] Nor were these the extreme limits of the barbarities exercised. In the reign of king Henry VII. in the year 1506, one William Tilsworth was burned. At which time, Joan Clerke, being a married woman, and only daughter of the said William, and *a faithful woman* (that is, one attached to the new opinions), was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her father. At the same time her husband, John Clerke, did penance at the father's burning, and bare a faggot. Fox's *Acts.* p. 710. See also p. 766.

upon their oth, swearing them upon the same to detect themselves, their fathers and mothers, and other of their kindred, with their friends and neighbors, and that to death. All which things in the further processe (Christ willing) shall appeare.

Now it remaineth, that as you have heard their opinions, (which principally in number were foure) so also we declare their reasons and scriptures whereupon they grounded, and after that consequently the order and manner of penance to them enjoyned by the bishop.

And first against pilgrimage, and against worshipping of images, they used this text of the Apocal. chap. ix. "*I saw horses in a vision, and the heads of them, as the heads of lions: smoke, fire, and brimstone came out of their mouthes: with these three plagues, the third part of men were slaine of the smoke, and of the fire, and of the brimstone that came out of the mouthes of them. They that were not slaine of these three plagues, were such as worshipped not divels, and images of gold and silver, of brasse, of tree, and of stone,*" &c. Also they used and alleaged the first commandement, that there is but one God, and that they ought not to worship mo Gods than one, &c.

And as touching the sacrament and the right doctrine thereof, they had their instruction partly out of Wickliffes Wicket, partly out of the shepheards Calendar[3]; where they read, that the Sacrament

[3] *The shepheards Calender.*] "Here begynneth the kalender of shepardes, newely augmented and corrected: imprinted by Wyllyam Powell. 1556. fol." This work is a translation from the French, and (from signat. A. 8) appears to have been written A. D. 1497. I do not find any passage from which it could be said that these men derived their doctrine of the Eucharist, except this which follows. It is taken from a brief exposition of the petitions of the Lord's prayer. "*Our dayely*

crament was made in remembrance of Christ, and ought to be received in remembrance of his bodie. Moreover, they alleaged and followed the words of Christ spoken at the Supper, at what time he sitting with his disciples, and making with them his Maundie[4], tooke bread, and blessed, and brake, and gave to his disciples, and said, *Eat ye; this* (reaching with his arme, and shewing the bread in his hand, and then noting his owne naturall bodie[5], and

dayely breade gyve us to day. Here we aske of God to be susteyned with materyall breade for our bodyes, and spiritual breade for our sowles, that is the bred of lyfe, the body of Jesu Christ, by the which we receive the sacrament of the aulter, in mynde of his passion." Signat. F 4.

[4] *Making with them his Maundie.*] The Thursday before Easter, says Wheatly, is called Maunday Thursday, (dies Mandati), from the commandment which our Saviour gave his Apostles to commemorate the Sacrament of his Supper, which he this day instituted; or, as others think, from that *new commandment* which he gave them *to love one another*, after he had washed their feet, in token of the love he bore to them. *Illustration of the Common Prayer*, p. 207. edit. 1794. But Sir H. Spelman and others derive the word from the French, *Maund*, a basket, because on that day it was the custom to give alms to those poor men whose feet the king washed, in imitation of our Saviour's lesson of humility. See Junius's Etymologicum.

[5] *Noting his owne naturall bodie.*] If we may rely upon the correctness of this representation, Barlowe and others were mistaken, in attributing the original of this interpretation to Carolastadius. "After this (says he in his *Dialogue against the Lutheran Factions)*, fell a dissention betwene Martin Luther and Carolstadius, aboute the sacramente of the aulter. For Carolstadius denyeth in it the bodelye presence of Christe, affyrmynge that when he spake these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, he *ment them of his owne corporall bodye*, and not of the Sacrament: whereas M. Luther holdeth the contrarye." Signat C 6. b. Again, speaking of Carolastadius and Zuinglius, he tells us, that they agreed in their doctrine of the Eucharist, "savynge in this poynte they differed; whereas Carolstadius sayd that our Saveour Chryst spekyng these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, meaned his corporall presence *there syttinge*

and touching the same, and not the bread consecrate) *is my bodie, which shall be betrayed for you: do this in remembrance of me.* And likewise tooke the wine and bad them drinke, saying, *This is my blood which is of the new Testament*, &c.

"Item, that Christ our Saviour sitteth on the right hand of the father, and there shall be unto the day of doome: Wherefore they beleeved, that in the Sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ.

"Item (said one of them) men speake much of the Sacrament of the altar, but this will I bide by, that upon chare thursday[6] Christ brake bread unto his

syttinge with his disciples at the table, and not in forme of bread; Zuinglius affyrmed that they were not to be understanded *lytterallye*, but by a *figure* of interpretation, so that *est* was taken for *significat*, and these wordes of Chryste, *thys is my bodye*, were as muche to saye, as, This *sygnifyeth* my body." Signat. C 8. These extracts will be valued as illustrative of the literary history of these much celebrated interpretations. See also Fox's *Acts*. p. 1297. and Strype's *Annals*. vol. I. p. 25. Records. Hoggard's *Displaying of Protestants*, fol. 8, 9. A. D. 1556. The English Reformers, those at least who were employed in compiling the Public Writings of our Church, did not embrace either of these expositions.

"*Ward.* Learned Master Doctor; thus you expound the place, *Hoc est corpus meum*, that is, *a figure of my body*

Bishop Ridley. Although I know there be that so expound it; yet that exposition is not full to expresse the whole." Fox's *Acts*. p. 1318.

[6] *Upon Chare Thursday.*] Some readers will want to be informed what is meant by *Chare Thursday*. I am happy in being able to gratify their curiosity by a solution which comes *ex cathedra;* and which also will give no offence to their pride, inasmuch as it shews that learned clerks of the old time have experienced the same difficulty.

"Many wyll aske dyverse questyons of the servyce of these dayes of *suche preestes as they suppose can not make no redy answere*, but putte hym to shame, and do to hym vylonye and repreef. Wherefore I have tyteled whiche be nedefull for every preest to knowe; and yf he wyll loke on it, and kepe them

his disciples, and bad them eat it, saying, it was his flesh and bloud. And then he went from them, and suffered passion: and then he rose from death to life, and ascended into heaven, and there sitteth on the right hand of the father, and there he is to come unto the day of doome, when he shall judge both quicke and dead: And therefore how hee should be here in the forme of bread, he said, they could not see."

Such reasons and allegations as these and other like, taken out of the scripture, and out of the Shepheards Calender, Wicliffes Wicket, and out of other bookes, they had amongst them. And al-

them redely in herte, he may make redy answere, and so it shall be to him both profyt and worship. Fyrst; *Yf a man aske why Shere Thursday is called so*, ye may saye that in holy Chirche it is called *Cena Domini*, our Lordes soupe r day. It is also in Englyshe called *sher thoursday, for in olde faders dayes the people wolde that daye shere theyr hedes*, and clippe theyr berdes, and polle theyr hedes. *and so make thym honest agenst Ester day.* For on Good Fryday they doo theyr bodyes none ease, but suffre penaunce in mynde of hym, that that day suffre d his passyon for all man kynde. On Ester even it is tyme to here theyr servyce, and after servyce make holy daye. It is wryten in the lyfe of a Saynte, that he was so besy on the Saterday before none, that he made a man to shave hym at after none; then was the Fende redy, and gadred up the heres. Then this holy man saw that, and commaunded hym for to tell why he dyde soo. Then sayd he, Thou doost no reverence unto thy holy daye; therefore I wyll kepe these heres tyll the day of dome, in grete repreef to thee. Then anone he left off shavynge, and toke these heres fromc the Fende, and made theym to brenne in his owne honde to suffre penaunce, and so abode unshaven tyll the monday after. This is sayde to al thoo in repreef of them that worshyp not the saterday at after-none. Thenne as Johan Bellet sayth, on Sher Thursday a man sholde do poll his here, and clyppe his berde, and a preest sholde shave his crowne, soo that there sholde nothynge be betwene God and hym; and thenne shryve theym, and make them clene within his soule, as without. And thus make theym clene bothe within and without." *Festival*, Fol. 31.

though

though there was no learned man with them to ground them in their doctrine, yet they conferring and communing together among themselves, did convert one another, the Lords hand working with them marvellouslie: So that in short space, the number of these knowne or just fast men (as they were then termed) did exceedingly increase; in such sort, that the bishop seeing the matter almost past his power, was driven to make his complaint to the king, and required his aide for suppression of these men. Whereupon king Henry being then young, and unexpert in the bloudie practises and blind leadings of these Apostolicall prelats, incensed with his suggestions and cruell complaints, directed downe letters to his Sheriffes, bailifs, officers, and subjects for the aide of the bishop in this behalfe: the tenor of which letters heere insueth.

"Henry the 8. by the grace of God, king of England and of France, Lord of Ireland, defender of the faith: to all Maiors, Sheriffes, Baylifles, and Constables, and to all other our Officers, Ministers, and subjects, these our letters hearing or seeing, and to every of them, greeting. Forasmuch as the right reverend father in God our trusty and right welbeloved Counseller the Bishop of Lincolne, hath now within his Dioces no small number of heretickes, as it is thought, to his no little discomfort and heavines: We therefore being in wil and mind safely to provide for the said right reverend father in God and his officers, that they, ne none of them, shall bodily be hurt or damaged by any of the said hereticks or their fautors, in the executing and ministring of Justice unto the said hereticks accordingly to the lawes of holy Church, doe straitly charge and command you and every of you, as ye tender our high displeasure, to be aiding, helping and assisting the said right reverend Father in God,

God, and his said officers in the executing of justice in the premisses, as they, or any of them shal require you so to doe, not failing to accomplish our commandement and pleasure in the premisses, as ye intend to please us, and wil answer to the contrary at your uttermost perils. Yeven under our signet at our castle of Windsor, the 20. day of October, the 13. yeere of our raigne."

The Bishop thus being armed no lesse with the authoritie of the kings letter then incited with his own fiercenes, foreslaked no time, but outroones to accomplish his moody violence upon the poore flocke of Christ, called before him sit upon his tribunall seat, all in his diocesse whi ere never so little noted or suspected to incli swered ard those opinions: of whom to such, as ha Fyrst saye newly bin taken, and had not before abjur les sou e injoyned most strait and rigorous penanc *for he* other in whom he could find any relapse, *hedes* albeit they submitted themselves never so hi *so make* y doo t to his favorable courtesie; and though also hym, th is request, and for hope of pardon, they ha Esterved themselves great detecters of their le make h, being moreover of him fed and flattered vas so be nto; yet notwithstanding, contrary to his fa to shave d gadred up and their expectation, he spared not, l commaunded hym ce of relapse against them, commi he, Thou doost no secular arme to be burnt. I wyll kepe these to thee

The penance enjoyned by this John Longland bishop of Lincolne, was almost uniform and al after one condition, save only that they were severally committed and divided into severall and divers monasteries, there to be kept and found of almes all their life, except they were otherwise dispensed with by the bishop: as for example I have heere adjoyned the bishops letter for one of the said number, sent to the Abbey of Ensham, there

to

to be kept in perpetuall penance. By which one, an estimation may be taken of the rest, which were bestowed likewise sunderly into sundry abbeyes, as to Osney, to Frideswide, to Abingdon, to Tame, to Bissetor, to Dorchester, to Notley, to Ashrige, and divers mo. The copy of the bishops letter sent to the abbat of Ensham, here followeth under written.

The Bishops Letter to the Abbat of Ensham.

"My loving brother, I recommend me heartily unto you: and whereas I have, according to the law, put this bearer R. T. to perpetuall penance within your monasterie of Ensham, there to live as a penitent, and not otherwise; I pray you, and neverthelesse, according unto the law, command you to receive him, and see yee order him there accordingly to his injunctions which he wil shew you, if you require the same. As for his lodging, he will bring it with him. And his meat and drinke, he may have such as you give of your almes. And if he can so order himselfe by his labour within your house in your busines, whereby he may deserve his meat and drinke, so may you order him, as ye see convenient to his deserts, so that he passe not the precinct of your monasterie. And thus fare you heartily well from my place, &c."

As touching the residue of the penance and punishment inflicted to these men, they do litle or nothing disagree, but had one order in them all. The maner and forme whereof in the said bishops register doth proceed in condition as followeth.

Penance injoyned under paine of relapse by John Longland bishop of Lincolne, the nineteenth day of December, an. 1521.

"Inprimis, that every one of them shall upon a market day, such as shall be limited unto them, in the

the market time, goe thrise about the market at Burford, and then to stand up upon the highest greece of the crosse there a quarter of an houre with a fagot of wood every one of them upon his shoulder, and everie one of them once to beare a fagot of wood upon their shoulders, before their procession upon a Sunday, which shall be limited unto them at Burford, from the quier doore going out, to the quier doore going in, and all the high masse time to hold the same fagot upon their shoulders, kneeling upon the greece afore the high altar there, and every of them to do likewise in their owne parish church, upon such a Sunday as shall be limited unto them: and once to beare a fagot at a generall procession at Uxbridge, when they shall be assigned thereto, and once to beare a fagot at the burning of an heretike, when they shall be monished thereto.

"Also every one of them to fast bread and aile only everie friday during their life; and every even of Corpus Christi everie one of them to fast bread and water during their life, unlesse sicknesse unfained let the same.

"Also to say every of them every Sunday and every Friday during their life, once our Ladie Psalter, and if they forget it one day, to say as much another day for the same.

"Also they nor none of them, shall not hide their marke[7] upon their cheeke, neither with hat, cap,

[7] *Shall not hide their marke.*] It was a frequent cause of further persecution and trouble to these poor men, that they endeavoured to divest themselves of, or to hide those tokens and brands of Heresy which were imposed upon them. One of these impositions was to wear upon the sleeve, or some other part of their upper garments, a piece of coloured cloth, to represent a faggot. Accordingly Fox informs us, that a great and heinous offence counted amongst the rest was their putting

cap, hood, kercheſe, napkin, or none otherwise, nor shall not suffer their beards to grow past fourteene daies, nor never to haunt againe together with anie suspect person or persons, unlesse it be in the open market, faire, church or common inne or alehouse, where other people may see their conversation.

"And all these injunctions they and every of them, to fulfill with their penance, and every part of the same, under paine of relapse."

And thus have you the names, with the causes and the penance of them which were at this present time abjured. By the which word abjured, is meant that they were constrained by their oth, swearing upon the Evangelists, and subscribing with their hand, and a crosse to the same, that they did utterly and voluntarily renounce, detest, and forsake, and never should hold hereafter these, or any other like opinions, contrarie to the determination of the holy mother church of Rome; and further, that they should detect unto their ordinarie, whomsoever they should see, or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintaine the same.

Doctor Colet, Geoffry Chaucer, &c.

Much about this time (1521), or not past two yeeres before, died doctor John Colet, to whose

putting and leaving off the painted faggots, which they were, at their first abjuring, injoined to wear, as badges, during their lives, or so long as it should please their Ordinary to appoint, and not to leave them off upon pain of relapse. Fox, p. 736.

The manner of branding the cheeks is thus described. Their necks were tied fast to a post, with towels, and their hands holden that they might not stir, and so the iron being hot, was put to their cheeks; and thus bare they the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus about them. Fox, p. 710.

sermons

sermons the knowne men about Buckinghamshire had a great mind to resort. After he came from Italy and Paris, he first began to reade the epistles of Saint Paul openly in Oxford, in stead of Scotus and Thomas. From thence he was called by the king and made deane of Pauls: where he accustomed much to preach, not without great auditorie, as well of the kings court, as of the citizens and other. His diet was frugall, his life upright, in discipline he was severe: In so much that his canons because of their straiter rule, complained that they were made like monkes. The honest and honorable state of matrimonie he ever preferred before the unchast singlenes of priests. At his dinner commonly was read either some chapter of Saint Paul, or of Solomons Proverbs. He never used to sup. And although the blindnes of that time carried him away after the common errour of poperie, yet in ripenes of judgement he seemed something to incline from the vulgar trade of that age. The religious order of monkes and friers he fantased not. As neither he could greatly favour the barbarous divinitie of the schoole doctors, as of Scotus, but least of all, of Thomas Aquine: In so much that when Erasmus speaking in the praise of Thomas Aquine did commend him that he had read many old authors, and had written many new workes, as *Catena aurea*, and such like, to prove and to know his judgement; Colet first supposing that Erasmus had spoken in jest, but after supposing that he meant good faith, bursteth out in great vehemencie, saying, what tell you me (quoth he) of the commendation of that man, who except he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, would not define and discusse all things so boldly and rashly; and also except he had been rather worldly minded, than heavenly, would never have

have so polluted Christs whole doctrine with mans prophane doctrine, in such sort as he hath done.

The bishop of London at that time was Fitzjames, of age no lesse then 80. Who bearing long grudge and displeasure against Colet, with other two bishops taking his part, like to himselfe, entred action of complaint against Colet to the archbishop of Canterbury, being then W. Warham. The matter of his complaint was divided into three articles. The first was for speaking against worshipping of Images. The second was about hospitalitie, for that he intreating upon the place of the Gospell, *pasce, pasce, pasce*, feed, feed, feed, when he had expounded the two first, for feeding with example of life and with doctrine; in the third, which the schoolemen do expound for feeding with hospitalitie, he left out the outward feeding of the belly, and applied it another way. The third crime wherwith they charged him, was for speaking against such as used to preach only by bosome sermons[8], declaring nothing else to the people, but as they bring in their prayers with them. Which because the bishop of London used then much to doe for his age, he tooke it as spoken

[8] *Only by bosome sermons.*] These particulars concerning Dean Colet are taken almost intirely from Erasmus's Epistles. The preaching by *bosom sermons*, signifies the reading of a written discourse, which lifeless practice, says Erasmus, many make use of in England. "Tertius (articulus), quod cum in concione dixisset quosdam de charta concionari, (id quod multi frigide faciunt in Anglia) oblique taxasset Episcopum, qui ob senium id solitus sit facere." Erasmi Epist. p. 708. Edit. 1642. In Barlowe's *Dialogue concerning the Lutheran Factions*, the word is put into the mouth of that speaker who feebly sustains the character of the advocate of the reformation. "And to begynne fyrst of all at the Friers, Ye se what a rascall rable ronneth aboute the country with *bosomed sermones*, preachynge fables, and old wyves tales, in stede of the [illegible] of God." Signat. F 8.

against

against him, and therefore bare him this displeasure. The archbishop more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with Colet, so tooke his part against his accusers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

William Tindall in his booke answering that of M. More addeth moreover, and testifieth that the bishop of London would have made the said Colet Deane of Pauls, an heretike, for translating the Pater noster into English, had not the bishop of Canturburie holpen the Deane.

But yet the malice of Fitzjames the bishop so ceased not: who being thus repulsed by the archbishop, practised by another traine how to accuse him unto the king. The occasion thus fell. It happened the same time, that the king was in preparation of war against France. Whereupon the bishop with his coadjutors taking occasion upon certaine words of Colet, wherein he seemed to prefer peace before any kind of warre, were it never so just, accused him therefore in their sermons, and also before the king.

Furthermore it so befell the same time that upon good friday Doctor Colet preaching before the king, entreated of the victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians to fight under the standard of Christ, against the devill: adding moreover what an hard thing it was to fight under Christs banner, and that all they which upon private hatred or ambition, tooke weapon against their enemy, one Christian to slay another, such did not fight under the banner of Christ, but rather of Satan; and therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that Christian men in their wars would follow Christ their prince and captaine, in fighting against their enemies, rather then the example of Julius or Alexander, &c. The king hearing Colet thus to speake, and fearing

ing least by his wordes the hartes of his souldiours might be withdrawne from his warres, which he had then in hand, tooke him aside, and talked with him in secret conference in his garden walking. Bishop Fitzjames, Bricot, and Standish, who were his enemies, thought now none other, but that Colet must needes be committed to the Tower, and waited for his comming out. But the king with great gentlenesse intertaining Doctor Colet and bidding him familiarly to put on his cap, in long courteous talke had with him in the garden much commended him for his learning and integrity of life, agreeing with him in all points, but that only he required him (for that the rude souldiors should not rashly mistake that which he had said) more plainely to explaine his words and mind in that behalfe, which after he did: and so after long communication and great promises, the king dismissed Colet with these words saying; let every man have his doctour as him liketh: this shall be my doctour; and so departed. Whereby none of his adversaries durst ever trouble him after that time.

Among many other memorable actes left behind him, he erected a worthy foundation of the schoole of Paules (I pray God the fruites of the schoole may answere the foundation) for the cherishing up of youth in good letters, providing a sufficient stipend as well for the Maister as for the Usher, whome he willed rather to be appointed out of the number of maried men, than of single priests with their suspected chastity. The first moderator of this schoole was Gulielmus Lilius, a man no lesse notable for his learning, than was Colet for his foundation. This Colet died the yeare of our Lord 1519.

Not long before the death of this Colet and Lily, lived Gulielmus Grocinus, and Gulielmus Latimerus, both English men also, and famously learned.

This Grocinus as he began to read in his open lecture in the church of S. Paule the book of Dionysius Areopagita, commonly called Hierarchia Ecclesiastica (for the reading of the holy scriptures[9] in Paules was not in use) in the first entry of his preface, he cried out with great vehemency against them whosoever they were, which either denied, or stood in doubt of the authority of that booke; in the number of whome he noted Laurence Valla, and divers other of like approved judgement and learning. But afterward the same Grocine, when he had continued a few weekes in his reading thereof, and did consider further in him, he utterly altered, and recanted his former sentence, protesting openly, that the forenamed booke to his judgement, was never written by that author whom we read in the actes of the Apostles to be called Dionisius Areopagita.

9 *The reading of the holy scriptures.*] Colet was the first who revived the reading upon the Scriptures at Oxford, about the year 1498, and in St. Paul's about eight years afterwards. About the same time Warner, afterwards rector of Winterton in Norfolk, and George Stafford began to read upon St. Paul's Epistles in the University of Cambridge. Parker's Antiq. in the Life of Abp. Warham.

"At this time, (says Dr. Knight, speaking of Colet's institution at St. Paul's) it was a new thing to have any readings upon the Scriptures. Their readings were ushered in with a *text*, or rather a *sentence of Scotus and Aquinas:* and the *explication* was not trying by the word of God, but by the voice of other Scholastic interpreters, and the intricate turns of what they called Logic; which was then nothing but the art of corrupting human reason, and the Christian Faith. The use and study of the Scriptures was so low at that time, and even in the University of Oxford, that the being admitted a Batchelor of Divinity gave only liberty to read *the Master of the Sentences* (Peter Lombard), and the highest degree of Doctor of Divinity did not admit a man to the reading of the Scriptures." Knight's *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 50.

The tractation of these two couples above rehearsed, does occasion me to adjoyne also the remembrance of an other couple of like learned men: The names of whom not unworthy to bee remembred, were Thomas Linacre, and Richard Pace; which two followed much upon the time of Colet, and of Wil. Lily. But of Richard Pace, which was Deane next after the aforesaid John Colet, more convenient place shall serve us hereafter to speake, comming to the story of Cardinall Wolsey.

Moreover to these two I thought it not out of season, to couple also some mention of Geffrey Chaucer, and John Gower. Which although being much discrepant from these in course of yeares, yet may seeme not unworthy to be matched with these forenamed persons in commendation of their study and learning. Albeit concerning the full certainty of the time and death of these two, we cannot finde; yet it appeareth in the prologue of Gowers worke intituled *confessio Amantis*, that he finished it in the 16. yeare of king Richard the second. In the ende of the viii. booke of his said treatise he declareth, that he was both sicke and olde, when he wrote it; whereby it may appeare, that he lived not long after. Notwithstanding, by certaine verses of the said maister Gower placed in the latter end of Chaucers workes both in Latine and English, it may seeme that he was alive at the beginning of the raigne of king Henry the iiii. and also by a booke which hee wrote to the same king Henry. By his sepulture within a Chappell of the Church of Saint Mary Overies, which was then a monastery where he and his wife lie buried, it appeareth by his chaine and his garland of Laurell, that he was both a knight, and florishing than in poetry. In the which place of his sepul-

ture were made in his grave stone 3. bookes, the first bearing the title, *Speculum Meditantis*, The second, *Vox Clamantis*, The third, *Confessio Amantis*. Besides these, divers Chronicles and other workes moe he compiled.

Likewise as touching the time of Chaucer, by his owne workes in the end of his first booke of Troylus and Creseide it is manifest, that he and Gower were both of one time, although it seemeth that Gower was a greal deale his ancient: both notably learned, as the barbarous rudenes of that time did give: both great friends together, and both in like kinde of study together occupied, so endevouring themselves, and employing their time, that they excelling many other in study and exercise of good letters, did passe forth their lives here right worshipfully and godly to the worthy fame and commendation of their name. Chaucers workes be all printed in one volume, and therefore knowne to all men.

This I marvaile, to see the idle life of the priests and clergy men of that time, seeing these lay persons shewed themselves in these kinds of liberall studies so industrious and fruitfully occupied: but much more I marvaile to consider this, how that the bishops condemning and abolishing all maner of English bookes and treatises, which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorise the workes of Chaucer to remaine still and to be occupied; Who (no doubt) saw in religion as much almost as even we doe now, and uttereth in his workes no lesse, and seemeth to be a right Wiclevian, or els was never any; and that all his workes almost, if they be throughly advised will testifie (albeit it be done in mirth and covertly) and especially the latter ende of his third booke of the Testament of love: for there purely he toucheth the highest

highest matter, that is the communion: Wherin except a man be altogether blind, he may espy him at the ful. Athough in the same book (as in al other he useth to doe) under shadows covertly, as under a visour, he suborneth truth in such sort, as both privily she may profit the godly minded, and yet not be espied of the craftie adversary: And therefore the bishops belike, taking his works but for jestes, and toies, in condemning other bookes, yet permitted his bookes to be read.

So it pleased God to blind then the eies of them, for the more commodity of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his treatises, some fruit might redound therof to his church, as no doubt it did to many. As also I am partly enformed of certaine which knew the parties, which to them reported, that by reading of Chaucers works, they were brought to the true knowledge of religion. And not unlike to be true. For to omit other partes of his volume, whereof some are more fabulous than other, what tale can be more planely told then the tale of the ploughman? or what finger can point out more directly the pope with his prelats to be Antichrist, than doth the poore Pellican reasoning against the greedy Griffon? under which Hypotyposis or poesy, who is so blind that seeth not by the Pellican, the doctrine of Christ, and of the Lollards, to be defended against the church of Rome? Or who is so impudent that can deny that to be true, which the Pellican there affirmeth in describing the presumptuous pride of that pretensed church? Againe, what egge can be more like or fig unto another, than the wordes, properties and conditions of that ravening gripho resembleth the true Image, that is, the nature and qualities, of that which we cal the church of Rome, in every point and degree? and therfore no great

marvaile,

marvaile, if that narration was exempted out of the copies of Chaucers workes; which notwithstanding now is restored againe, and is extant for every man to reade that is disposed.

This Geffrey Chaucer being borne (as is thought) in Oxfordshire, and dwelling in Woodstock, lieth buried in the church of the minster of S. Peter at Westminster, in an Ile on the south-side of the said church, not far from the doore leading to the Cloister, and upon his grave stone first were written these two old verses:

Galfridus Chaucer vates et fama poesis
Maternæ, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.

Afterward about the yeere of our Lord 1556. one M. Brickham bestowing more cost upon his tombe did adde thereunto these verses following,

Qui fuit Anglorum vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum si quæras Domini, si tempora mortis,
Ecce notæ subsunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25. Octob. Anno. 1400.

MARTINE LUTHER.

ALTHOUGH it cannot be sufficiently expressed with toung or pen of man, into what miserable ruine and desolation the church of Christ was brought in those latter daies; yet partly by the reading of these stories aforepast, some intelligence may be given to them, which have judgement to mark or eies to see in what blindnes and darknes the world was drowned during the space of these 400. yeeres heretofore and more. By the viewing and considering of which times and histories, thou maiest understand

understand (gentle reader) how the religion of Christ, which only consisteth in spirit and verity, was wholy turned into outward observations, ceremonies and idolatry. So many Saints we had, so many gods; so many monasteries, so many pilgrimages. As many churches, as many reliques, forged and feined we had. Againe, so many reliques, so many lying miracles we beleeved. In steede of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead stockes and stones. In place of Christ immortall, we adored mortall bread. In stead of his bloud, we worshipped the bloud of ducks: how the people were led, so that the priests were fed, no care was taken. In stead of Gods word, mans word was set up. In stead of Christs testament, the popes testament, that is, the canon law: in stead of Paule, the maister of sentences tooke place, and almost full possession. The law of God was little read: the use and end thereof was lesse knowne. And as the end of the law was unknowne, so the difference between the gospell and the law, was not understanded, the benefit of Christ not considered, the effect of faith not expended. Through the ignorance whereof, it cannot be told what infinit errors, sects and religions crept into the church overwhelming the world, as with a floud of ignorance and seduction. And no marvell; for where the foundation is not wel laid, what building can stand and prosper? The foundation of all our Christianity is only this; the promise of God in the bloud of Christ his Son, giving and promising life unto all that beleeve in him: Giving (saith the scripture) unto us, and not bargaining or indenting with us. And that freely (saith the scripture) for Christs sake, and not conditionally for our merites sake.

Upon this foundation of Gods free promise and grace first builded the Patriarks, kings, and prophets.

phets. Upon the same foundation also Christ the Lord builded his church. Upon the which foundation the Apostles likewise builded the church Apostolicall or Catholicall.

This Apostolicall and Catholicke foundation, so long as the church did retaine, so long it continued sincere and sound: which endured a long season after the apostles time. But after, in processe of yeers, through wealth and negligence crept into the church, so soone as this foundation began to be lost, came in new builders, which would build upon a new foundation, a new church more glorious, which we call now the church of Rome. Who being not contented with the olde foundation and the head corner stone, which the Lord by his word had laide; in place thereof, they laid the ground worke upon the condition and strength of the law and workes. Although it is not to be denied, but that the doctrine of Gods holy law, and of good workes according to the same, is a thing most necessary to be learned and followed of all men: yet is not that the foundation, wherupon our salvation consisteth; neither is that foundation able to beare up the waight of the kingdome of heaven; but is rather the thing, which is builded upon the foundation: which foundation is Jesus Christ, according as we are taught of Saint Paul, saying; *No man can lay any other foundation, beside that which is laid, Christ Jesus, &c.* (1. Cor. c. 3.)

But this ancient foundation with the old ancient church of Christ (as I said) hath bin now of long time forsaken, and in stead thereof a new church with a new foundation hath bin erected and framed, not upon Gods promise and his free grace in Christ Jesus, nor upon free justification by faith, but upon merits and deserts of mens working. And hereof have they planted all these their new devices, so infinit that

that they cannot well be numbred, as masses, trecenares, dirges, obsequies, mattens and hours, singing service, vigiles, midnight rising, barefoot going, fishtasting, lentfast, imbertast, stations, rogations, jubiles, advocation of saints, praying to images, pilgrimage walking, workes of supererogation, application of merits, orders, rules, sectes of religion, vowes of chastity, wilful poverty, pardons, relations, indulgences, pennance and satisfaction, with auricular confession, founding of Abbaies, building of chappels, giving to churches: And who is able to recite all their laborious buildings, falsly framed upon a wrong ground, and all for ignorance of the true foundation, which is the free justification by faith in Christ Jesus the Sonne of God?

Moreover to note, that as this new found church of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine; so no lesse was it corrupted in order of life and deepe hypocrisie, doing all thinges onely under pretenses and dissembled titles. So under the pretence of Peters chaire, they exercised a majesty above Emperours and kings: Under the visour of their vowed chastity, reigned adultery; under the cloake of professed proverty, they possessed the goods of the temporalty. Under the title of being dead unto the world, they not only reigned in the world, but also ruled the world: under the colour of the keyes of heaven to hang under their girdle, they brought all the states of the world under their girdle, and crept not only into the purses of men, but also into their consciences: they heard their confessions: they knew their secrets: they dispensed as they were disposed, and loosed what them listed: And finally when they had brought the whole world under their subjection, yet did their pride never cease to ascend, neither could their avarice be ever satisfied. And if the example of Cardinall Wolsey

and

and other Cardinals and popes cannot satisfie thee, I beseech thee (gentle reader) turne over the foresaid booke of the ploughmans tale in Chaucer above mentioned, where thou shalt understand much more of their demeanour, than I have here described.

In these so blind and miserable corrupt daies of darkenesse and ignorance, thou seest good Reader (I doubt not) how necessary it was, and high time, that reformation of the church should come; which now most happily and graciously began to worke, through the mercifull and no lesse needfull providence of almighty God. Who although he suffered his Church to wander and start aside through the seduction of pride and prosperity a long time, yet at length it pleased his goodnesse to respect his people, and to reduce his church into the pristine foundation and frame againe, from whence it was pitiously decayed. Whereof I have now consequently to intreat, intending by the grace of Christ, to declare how and by what meanes, first this reformation of the church began, and how it proceeded, increasing by little and little into this perfection which now we see, and more I trust shall see.

And herein we have first to behold the admirable worke of Gods wisedom. For as the first decay and ruine of the church, before began of rude ignorance, and lacke of knowledge in teachers; so to restore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man the arte of printing, the time whereof was shortly after the burning of Hus and Hierome. Printing being opened, incontinent ministred unto the church the instruments and tooles of learning and knowledge, which were good bookes and authors, which before lay hid and unknowne. The science of Printing being

being found, immediatly followed the grace of God, which stirred up good wits aptly to conceive the light of knowledge and of judgement; by which light, darkenesse began to be espied, and ignorance to be detected, truth from error, religion from superstition to be discerned, as is above more largely discoursed, where was touched the inventing of printing.

Furthermore, after these wits stirred up of God, followed other more, increasing daily more and more in science, in tongues, and perfection of knowledge; who now were able, not only to discerne in matters of judgement, but also were so armed and furnished with the help of good letters, that they did encounter also with the adversary, sustaining the cause and defence of learning against barbaritie; of verity, against error; of true religion, against superstition. In number of whom, amongst many other here unnamed were, Picus, and Franciscus Mirandula, Laurentius Valla, Franciscus Petrarcha, Wesalianus, Reuclinus, Grocinus, Coletus, Rhenanus, Erasmus, &c. And here began the first push and assault to be given against the ignorant and barbarous faction of the popes pretensed church. Who, after that by their learned writings and laborious travaile, they had opened a window of light unto the world, and had made (as it were) a way more readie for other to come after; immediatly, according to Gods gracious appointment, followed Martine Luther, with other after him, by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to worke a more full reformation of his church.

From the first beginning of this whole booke and history hitherto (good reader) thou hast heard of many and sundry troubles, and much businesse in the church of Christ, concerning the reformation of

of divers abuses and great errors crept into the same, namely in the church of Rome; as appeareth by the doings of them, in divers and sundry places, whereof mention hath been made heretofore in this said history. For what godly man hath there been within the space of these five hundred yeeres, either vertuously disposed, or excellently learned, which hath not disproved the misordred doings and corrupt examples of the see and bishop of Rome from time to time, unto the comming of this Luther? Wherein this appeareth to me, and may also appeare no lesse to all godly disposed men, to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this foresaid Romish bishop hath had great enemies and gainsaiers continually from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet notwithstanding never any could prevaile before the comming of this man. The cause whereof, although it be secretly knowne unto God, and unknowne unto men, yet so far as men by conjectures may suppose, it may thus not unlikely be thought; That whereas other men before him, speaking against the pompe, pride, whordome, and avarice of the bishop of Rome, charged him only or most specially with examples and maners of life; Luther went further with him, charging him not with life, but with his learning; not with his doings, but with his doctrine; not picking at the rind, but plucking up the roote; not seeking the man, but shaking his seat, yea and charging him with plaine heresie, as prejudicial and resisting plainly against the bloud of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the sacred testament of Gods holy word. For whereas the foundation of our faith grounded upon the holy scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be justified only by the worthinesse of Christ, and the only price of his

his bloud, the pope proceeding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth us otherwise to seeke our salvation, not by Christ alone, but by the way of mens meriting and deserving by works: Whereupon rose divers sorts of orders and religious sects amongst men, some professing one thing, and some another, and every man seeking his owne righteousnes, but few seeking the righteousnes of him which is set up of God to be our righteousnes, redemption and justification.

Martin Luther therefore urging and reducing things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eies of many, which before were drowned in darknes. Whereupon it cannot be expressed what joy, comfort, and consolation came to the hearts of men, some lying in darknesse and ignorance, some wallowing in sinne, some being in despaire, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their owne righteousnesse, to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free justification set up in Christ Jesus. And briefly to speake, the more glorious the benefit of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignorance, the greater persecution followed upon the same. And where the elect of God tooke most occasion of comfort and of salvation, thereof the adversaries tooke most matter of vexation and disturbance: As commonly wee see the true word of God to bring with it ever dissention and perturbation: and therefore truly it was said of Christ, *That hee came not to send peace on earth, but the sword.* And this was the cause why that after the doctrine and preaching of Luther, so great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the world: whereby rose great disquietnesse among the prelats, and many lawes and decrees were made, to overthrow the same by cruell handling of

many good and christian men. Thus while authority armed with lawes and rigor, did strive against simple veritie, lamentable it was to heare, how many poore men were troubled and went to wracke, some tost from place to place, some exiled out of the land for feare, some caused to abjure, some driven to caves in woods, some racked with torment, and some pursued to death with fagot and fire. Of whom we have now (Christ willing) in this history following to entreat.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

O, 'tis a burden, Cromwell, 'tis a burden,
Too heavy for a man that hopes for heaven.

SHAKSPEARE.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Life was written by the Cardinal's Gentleman Usher, Cavendish; whose Christian name in the superscription to some of the manuscript copies is *George*, but by Bishop Kennet, in his Memoirs of the family of Cavendish; by Collins, in his Peerage; and by Dr. Birch (No. 4233, Ayscough's Catalogue, Brit. Museum) he is called *William*. The work was known only by manuscripts, and by the large extracts from it, inserted by John Stowe in his *Annals*, from the reign of Q. Mary in which it was composed, until the year 1641; at which time a book was printed in a thin quarto, intitled, "*The Negotiations of Thomas Woolsey, the great Cardinal, containing his Life and Death*," &c. But surely no publication was ever more unfaithful to the manuscript, from which it professed to be taken: The editor, whosoever he was, being every way unqualified for his undertaking. The language he has thought fit to alter, almost in every sentence, without the guidance of of any principle, but the gratification of his own tasteless caprice. Omissions he has made of many of the most interesting and valuable portions of the volume, amounting in extent to at least one third part of the whole: and through ignorance, and inability even to read the manuscript which was before him, he has left a multitude of passages in the text, utterly absurd, and unintelligible. Yet the piece, even with all these disadvantages, has been so much a favourite with the Public, that it has been reprinted twice, in the years 1667 and 1706 (besides being inserted in the Harleian Miscellany, and in the Selection from that work), and is still a book of not very frequent occurrence.

The Lambeth Library supplying two manuscript copies of this Life, the editor obtained permission from his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, to make use of them for the present collection. The first of these (No. 179) is very fairly and accurately written, and appears from a subscription at the end, bearing date A. D. 1598, to have belonged to John Stowe, the Antiquarian; and afterwards to Sir Peter Manwood: both whose names are autographs. The other MS. (No. 250) is also a correct and valuable one, but wants a few leaves.

Stowe's manuscript was made the ground-work of the present edition. That being first transcribed, the copy was collated with the MS. No. 250, the readings of which were adopted, where they seemed to be deserving of preference. In one or two places the Editor availed himself of the readings given by Stowe in his Annals: and in a few others, he followed a MS. of this Life, formerly belonging to Dr. Tobias Matthew, Archbishop of York, now in the Library of the Dean and Chapter of that Cathedral; the use of which was very generously conceded to the Editor, by that venerable body, through the intervention of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. A deficiency in one passage was supplied by a MS. (No. 4233, Ayscough's Catalogue) in the British Museum: for the discovery of which the Editor begs to return his thanks to Mr. Ellis and Mr. Douce, librarians there: as he does to the latter gentleman, for the very liberal offer of the free use of another valuable MS. of this same Life, in his own possession.

CAR-

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

THE PROLOGUE.

ME-SEEMS it were no wisdome to credit every light tale, blasted abroade by the blasphemous mouthe of rude commonalty. For we dayly hear how with their blasphemous trumpe they spread abroad innumerable lies, without either shame or honesty, which *primâ facie* sheweth forthe a visage of truthe, as though it were a perfect verity and matter indeede, whereas there is nothing more untrue. And amongst the wise sorte so it is esteemed, with whom those bablings be of small force and effect.

For sooth I have reade the exclamations of divers worthy and notable authors, made against suche false rumours and fonde opinions of the fantasticall commonalty, whoe delighteth in nothing more than to heare strange things, and to see newe alterations of authorities; rejoicing sometimes in such newe fantasies, which afterwardes give them more occasion of repentance than of joyfulness. Thus may all men of wisdome and discretion understand the temerous madness of the rude commonalty, and not give to them too hasty credit of every sodeine rumour, untill the truth be perfectly knowen by the reporte of some approved and credible person, that ought to have thereof true intelligence. I have hearde and also seene set forthe in

diverse printed books some untrue imaginations, after the deathe of diverse persons which in their life were of great estimation, that were invented rather to bring their honest names into infamy and perpetuall slaunder of the common multitude, than otherwise.

The occasion therefore that maketh me to rehearse all these things is this; for as much as I intend, God willing, to write here some parte of the procedings of Cardinal Wolsey, the Archbishop, his ascending unto honour's estate, and sodeine falling againe from the same; whereof some parte shall be of myne own knowledge, and some parte of credible persons information.

Forsothe this Cardinall was my Lorde and Master, whome in his life I served, and so remained with him, after his fall, continually, duringe the time of all his trouble, untill he died, as well in the Southe as in the Northe parts, and noted all his demeanor and usage in all that time; as also in his wealthy triumphe and glorious estate. And since his death I have hearde diverse sondry surmises and imagined tales, made of his procedings and doings, which I myself have perfectly knowen to be most untrue; unto the which I would have sufficiently answered accordinge to truthe, but as me seemed then it was much better for mee to dissemble the matter, and to suffer the same to remaine still as lies, than to reply against *their* untruth, of whome I might, for my boldness, sooner have kindled a great flame of displeasure, than to quench one spark of their untrue reportes. Therefore I committed the truth of the matter to the knowledge of God, who knoweth the truth in all things. For, whatsoever any man hath conceived in him while he lived, or since his deathe, thus much I dare be bold to say, withoute displeasure

to

to any person, or of affection, that in my judgement I never saw this Realme in better obedience and quiet, than it was in the time of his authority and rule, ne justice better ministered with indifferency; as I could evidently prove, if I should not be accused of too much affection, or else that I set forth more than truth. I will therefore leave to speak any more thereof, and make here an end, and procede further to his originall beginning and ascending with fortunes favor to high honors, dignities, promotions, and riches.

TRUTHE it is that this Cardinall Wolsey was an honest poore man's sonne[1], of Ipswiche in the County of Suffolk, and there borne; and being but a child, was very apt to be learned; wherefore by the means of his parents, or of his good friends, and masters, he was conveied to the University of Oxonford, where he shortly prospered so in learning, as he told me by his owne mouthe, he was made Bacheller of Arts, when he past not fiftoen yeares of age, in so much that for the rareness of his age, he was called most commonly, through the University, the Boy Bacheller.

Thus prosperinge and increasinge in learning, he was made fellow of Magdalen Colledge, and after elected and appointed to be Schoole Master of Magdalen Schoole; at which time the Lord Marquiss Dorset had three of his Sons there to schoole, committing as well unto him their education, as

[1] *Poore man's sonne.*] He was born in the year 1471. See Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 2. edit. 2. A.D. 1726.

their

their instruction and learning. It pleased the said Lord Marquiss against a Christmas season, to send as well for the School Master as for the Children, home to his house, for their recreation in that pleasant and honorable feast. They being then there, my Lord their father perceived them to be right well emploied in learning, for their time: which contented him so well, that he having a benefice[2] in his gift, being at that present voide, gave the same to the School Master, in reward of his diligence, at his departing after Christmas to the University. And having the presentation thereof he repaired to the Ordinary for his institution, and induction; and being furnished there of all his ordinary instruments at the Ordinarys handes, for his preferment, he made speed without any farther delay to the said benefice to take thereof possession. And being there for that intent, one Sir Amyas Pawlet, knight, dwelling in the country thereaboute, tooke occasion of displeasure against him, upon what ground I knowe not: but, Sir by your leave, he was so bolde to set the Schoole Master by the feet dufinge his pleasure; which after was neither forgotten nor forgiven. For when the Schoole Master mounted the dignity to be Chancellor of England, he was not oblivious of his old displeasure cruelly ministered upon him by Mr. Pawlet, but sent for him, and after many sharpe and heinous wordes, enjoyned him to attend untill he were dismissed, and not to departe out of London, withoute lycense obtained: soe that he continued there within the Middle Temple, the space of five or six yeares; whoe laye then in the gate house next the strete,

[2] *Having a benefice.*] The place was Lymington in the Diocese of Bath and Wells. He was instituted October 10, A. D. 1500. Fiddes's Life, p. 5.

which

which he reedified very sumptuously, garnishing the same, all over the outside, with the Cardinall's arms, with his hat, with the cognisaunce and badges, and other devises, in so glorious a sorte, that he thought thereby to have appeased his old displeasure.

Nowe may this be a good example and precedent to men in authority, which will sometimes worke their will without witt, to remember in their authority, howe authority may decay; and those whome they doe punishe of will more than of justice, may after be advaunced to high honors, and dignities, in the common weale, and they based as lowe, who will then seeke the meanes to be revenged of such wronges which they suffered before. Who would have thought then when Sir Amyas Pawlet punished this poore Scholler the Schoole Master, that ever he should have mounted to so highe dignity as to be Chauncellor of England, considering his baseness in every degree! These be wonderful and secret workes of God, and chaunces of fortune. Therefore I would wishe all men in authority and dignity to knowe and feare God in all their triumphs and glory; considering in all their doings, that authority be not permanent, but may slide and vanish, as princes pleasures alter and change.

Then as all living things must of very necessity paye the dewe debt of nature, which no earthly creature can resist, it chaunced my said Lord Marquiss to depart out of this present life. After whose death this Schole Master, then considering with himself to be but a simple beneficed man, and to have loste his fellowship in the Colledge (for, as I understand, if a fellow of that house be once promoted to a benefice he shall by the rules of the same be dismissed of his fellowship), and perceiving

ing himself also to be destitute of his singular good lord, and also of his fellowship, which was much of his releife, thought not to be long unprovided of some other helpe, or mastershippe, to defend him from all such stormes, as he lightly was vexed with.

In this his travaill thereabout, he fell in acquaintance with one sir John Nanphant, a very grave and auncient knight, who had a great rome in Calais under king Henry the seventh. This knight he served, and behaved himself so discreetly, and wittily, that he obtained the especial favor of his said master; insomuch that for his wit and gravity, he committed all the charge of his office unto his chapleine. And, as I understand, the office was the treasureship of Calais, who was in consideration of his great age, discharged of his chargeable roome, and returned again into England, intending to live more at quiet. And through his instant labor and good favor his chapleine was promoted to be the kings chapleine. And when he had once cast anker in the porte of promotion, howe he wrought, I shall somewhat declare.

He, having then a just occasion to be in the sight of the kinge dayly, by reason he attended upon him, and saide masse before his grace in his closet, that done he spent not the rest of the day forthe in idleness, but would attend upon those whome he thought to beare most rule in the counsaille, and to be most in favor with the kinge, the which at that time were doctor Fox, bishop of Winchester, secretary and lord privy seal, and also sir Thomas Lovell knighte, a very sage counsellor, a witty man, being master of the wardes and constable of the Tower.

These auncient and grave counsellers in process of time perceiving this chapleine to have a very fine

fine wit, and what was in his head, thought him a meett and apt person to be preferred to waitty affaires.

It chaunced at a certain season that the kinge had an urgent occasion to send an ambassador unto the emperor Maximillian, who lay at that present in the Lowe Countrey of Flaunders, not far from Calaise. The bishop of Winchester and sir Thomas Lovell, whom the kinge most esteemed, as chiefe of his counselle, (the kinge one day counselling and debating with them upon this embassage,) saw they had nowe a convenient occasion to prefer the kinge's chapleene, whose excellent witt, eloquence, and learning they highly comended to the kinge. The kinge giving eare unto them, and, being a prince of an excellent judgement and modesty, comanded them to bring his chapleine, whom they so much comended, before his Grace's presence. And to prove the wit of his chapleine he fell in communication with him in great matters: and, perceiving his wit to be very fine, thought him sufficient to be put in trust with this embassage; commanding him thereupon to prepare himself to his journey, and for his depeche, to repaire to his Grace and his counsell, of whom he should receive his commission and instructions. By meanes whereof he had then a due occasion to repaire from time to time into the kinge's presence, who perceived him more and more to be a very wise man, and of a good intendment. And having his depeche, he tooke his leave of the kinge at Richmond about none, and so came to London about foure of the clocke, where the barge of Gravesend was ready to launch forthe, both with a prosperous tide and winde. Without any further aboade he entered the barge, and so passed forthe. His happie speede was such that he arrived at Gravesend

end within little more than three hours; where he tarried no longer than his post horses were provided; and travelled so speedily with post horses, that he came to Dover the next morning, whereas the passengers were ready under saile to saile to Calaise. Into the which passengers without tarrying he entered, and sailed forth with them, so that long before noone, he arrived at Calaise; and having post horses in a readiness departed from thence, without tarrying. And he made such hasty speede, that he was that night with the emperor. And he having understanding of the coming of the kinge of England's ambassador, would in no wise delay the time, but sent for him incontinent (for his affection to kinge Henry the seventh was such, that he was glad when he had any occasion to shewe him pleasure). The embassador disclosed the whole summe of his embassage unto the emperor, of whom he required spedy expedition, the which was graunted him, by the emperor; so that the next day he was clearly dispatched, with all the kinges requests fully accomplished and graunted. At which time he made no farther delay or tariaunce, but tooke post horses that night, and rode incontinent towarde Calais againe, conducted thither with such persons as the emperor had appointed. And at the opening of the gates of Calaise, he came thither, where the passengers were as ready to retourne into Englande as they were before at his journey forewarde; insomuch that he arrived at Dover by tenne or eleven of the clocke before noone; and having post horses in a readiness, came to the court at Richmond that same night. Where he taking some rest untill the morning, repaired to the kinge at his first coming out of his bed chamber, to his closet to masse. Whom (when he saw) he checked

him

him for that he was not on his journey. "Sir," quoth he, "if it may please your highness, I have already been with the emperor, and depeched youre affaires, I trust with your grace's contentation." And with that he presented the kinge his letters of credence from the emperor. The kinge, being in a great confuse and wonder of his hasty speede and retourne with such furniture of all his proceedings, dissimuled all his wonder and imagination in the matter, and demanded of him, whether he encountered not his pursevant, the which he sente unto him (supposing him not to be scantly out of London) with letters concerning a very necessary matter, neglected in their consultation, the which the king much desired to have dispatched among the other matters of ambassade. "Yes forsoothe," quoth he, "I met with him yesterday by the way: and having no understanding by your graces letters of your pleasure, notwithstanding I have been so boulde, upon mine own discretion (perceiving that matter to be very necessary in that behalf) to dispatch the same. And for as much as I have exceeded your graces commission, I most humbly require your graces remission and pardon." The kinge rejoicing inwardly not a little, saide againe, "We do not only pardon you thereof, but also give you our owne princely thanks bothe for your proceedings therein, and also for your good and speedy exploit," commanding him for that time to take his rest, and to repaire againe to him after dinner, for the farther relation of his ambassage. The kinge then went to masse; and after at convenient time he went to dinner.

It is not to be doubted but that this ambassador hath in all this time bene with his great friends, the bishop, and sir Thomas Lovell, to whome he

hath

hath declared the effect of all his speede; nor yet what joye they have received thereof. And after his departure from the kinge, his highness sent for the bishop of Winchester, and for sir Thomas Lovell; to whom he declared the wonderful expedition of his ambassador, commending therewith his excellent witt, and in especiall the invention and avaunceing of the matter lefte out in their consultation, and the ambassadors commission. The kinges wordes rejoiced not a little these worthy counsaillors, for as much as he was of their preferment.

Then when this ambassador remembered the kings commandment, and sawe the time drawe faste on of his repaire before the kinge, and his counsaile, he prepared him in a readinesse, and resorted unto the place assigned by the kinge, to declare his ambassage. Without all doubt he reported the effect of all his affaires and proceedings so exactly, with such gravity and eloquence, that all the counsaile that heard him could doe no less but commend him, esteeming his expedition to be almost beyond the capacity of man. The kinge of his mere motion, and gracious consideration, gave him at that time for his diligent service, the deanery of Lincolne[3], which was at that time, one of the worthiest promotions, that he gave under the degree of a bishopricke. And thus from thenceforth he grewe more and more into estimation and authority, and after was promoted by the kinge to be his almoner. Here may all men note the chaunces of fortune, that followethe some whome she intendeth to promote, and to some her favor is cleane contrary, though they travaille never so much, with all the painfull diligence that they can

[3] *Deanery of Lincolne.*] He was collated Feb. 2. A. D. 1508. Le Neve's *Fasti.* p. 146.

devise

devise or imagine: whereof, for my part, I have tasted of the experience.

Now you shall understande that all this tale that I have declared of the good expedition of the kings ambassadour, I had of the reporte of his owne mouthe, after his fall, lying at that time in the great parke at Richmonde, he being then my lord and master, and I his poore servant and gentleman usher, taking then an occasion upon diverse communications, to tell me this journey, with all the circumstances, as I have here before declared.

When deathe (that favoureth none estate, king ne keiser) had taken the wise and sage kinge Henry the seventh out of this present life (on whose soule Jesu have mercy!) who for his wisdome was called the second Solomon, it was wonder to see what practices and compasses was then used about young kinge Henry the eighth, and the great provision made for the funerales of the one, and the costly devises for the coronation of the other, with the new queene, queene Catherine, and mother afterwards of the queenes highness, that now is, (whose virtuous life and godly disposition Jesu long preserve, and continue against the malignity of her corrupt enemies!) But I omit and leave all the circumstances of this solemn triumphe unto such as take upon them to write the stories of princes in chronicles, which is no parte of my intendment.

After the finishing of all these solemnizations and costly triumphes, our naturalle young and lusty courageous prince and sovereigne lorde kinge Henry the eighth entering into the flower of lusty youth, took upon him the regal scepter and the imperiall diadem of this fertile and fruitful realme, which at that time flourished in all

aboundaunce

aboundaunce and riches (whereof the king was inestimably furnished) called then the golden world, such grace reigned then within this realme. Now the almoner (of whome I have taken upon me to write) having a head full of subtile wit, perceiving a plaine pathe to walk in towards his journey to promotion, handled himself so politickly, that he found the meanes to be made one of the kings counsaille, and to growe in favour and good estimation with the kinge, to whome the kinge gave an house at Bridewell in Fleet-street, sometime sir Richard Empson's, where he kept house for his family, and so daily attended upon the kinge, and in his especiall favour, having great sute made unto him, as counsaillors in favour most commonly have. His sentences and witty persuasions amongst the counsaillors in the counsaile chamber, were alwaies so pithy, that they, as occasion moved them, continually assigned him for his filed tongue and excellent eloquence, to be the expositor unto the kinge in all their proceedings. In whome the kinge conceived such a loving fansy, and in especiall for that he was most earnest and readiest in all the counsaile to avaunce the king's only will and pleasure, having no respect to the cause; the king therefore, perceiving him to be a mete instrument for the accomplishing of his devised pleasures, called him more neare unto him, and esteemed him so highly, that the estimation and favour of him put all other auncient counsaillors out of high favour, that they before were in; insomuch that the king committed all his will unto his disposition and order. Who wrought so all his matters, that his endeavour was alwaies only to satisfy the kings pleasure, knowing right well, that it was the very vaine and right course to bring him to high promotion. The kinge was young

young and lusty, and disposed all to pleasure, and to followe his princely appetite and desire, nothing minding to travell in the affaires of his realme. Which the almoner perceiving very well, tooke upon him therefore to discharge the king of the burthen of so weighty and troublesome busines, putting the kinge in comforte that he should not neede to spare any time of his pleasure, for any business that should happen in the counsaile, as long as he, being there and having his graces authority, and by his commandment, doubted not so to see all things well and sufficiently perfected; making his grace privy first of all such matters before, or he would proceede to the accomplishing of the same, whose minde and pleasure he would have, and followe to the uttermost of his power; wherewith the kinge was wonderfully pleased. And whereas the other auncient counsaillors would, according to the office of good counsaillors, diverse times persuade the kinge to have some time a recourse unto the counsaile, there to heare what was done in weighty matters, the which pleased the kinge nothing at all, for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to doe any thing contrary to his pleasure; that knew the almoner very well, having a secret intelligence of the kings naturall inclination, and so fast as the other counsaillors counselled the kinge to leave his pleasure, and to attend to his affaires, so busily did the almoner persuade him to the contrary; which delighted him very much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the almoner. Thus the almoner ruled all them that before ruled him; such was his policy and witt, and so he brought things to pass, that who was now in high favour, but Mr. Almoner? who had all the sute but Mr. Almoner? and who ruled all under the king, but

Mr.

Mr. Almoner? Thus he persevered still in favour, untill at the last, in came presents, gifts, and rewardes so plentifully, that I dare say he lacked nothing that might either please his fantasy or enrich his coffers; fortune smiled so favourably upon him. But to what end she brought him, ye shall heare hereafter. Therefore let no man to whome fortune extendeth her grace, trust overmuch to her subtell favour and pleasant promises, under colour whereof, she carrieth venemous galle. For when she seeth her servaunt in most high authority, and that he most assureth himselfe of her favour, then sodaynelye tourneth she her visage and pleasaunt countenaunce, unto a frowning cheere, and utterly forsaketh him: such assuraunce is in her inconstant favour and promise. Her deceipt hath not bine hid among the wise sorte of famous clerks, that have exclaimed and written vehemently against her dissimulation and feined favor, warninge all men thereby, the lesse to regarde her, and to have her in small estimation of of any trust or faithfullnesse.

This almoner, clyming thus hastily upon fortunes wheeles, and so far mounting, that no man was of that estimation with the kinge, as he was, for his wisdome and other witty qualities, had a speciall gifte of naturall eloquence[4], and a filed tongue to pronounce

4 *Speciall gifte of naturall eloquence.*] Sir Thomas More, in his *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, has drawn so lively and characteristic a picture, designed, no doubt, to represent the cardinal at the head of his own table, that, though the extract is long, the reader, I think, will not be displeased with its insertion. The title of the chapter is, *Of Flattery*.

Anthony. I praye you, cosyn, tell on. *Vincent.* Whan I was fyrste in Almaine, uncle, it happed me to be somewhat favoured with a great manne of the churche, and a great state, one of the greatest in all that country there. And in dede whosoever

pronounce the same, that he was able with the same to persuade and allure all men to his purpose. Proceding thus in fortunes blisfulnes, it chaunced

whosoever might spende as muche as hee mighte in one thinge and other, were a ryght great estate in anye countrey of Christendom. But glorious was hee verye farre above all measure, and that was great pitie, for it dyd harme, and made him abuse many great gyftes that God hadde geven him. Never was he saciate of hearinge his owne prayse.

So happed it one daye, that he had in a great audience made an oracion in a certayne matter, wherein he liked himselfe so well, that at his diner he sat, him thought, on thornes, tyll he might here how they that sat with hym at his borde, woulde commend it. And whan hee had sitte musing a while, devysing, as I thought after, uppon some pretty proper waye to bring it in withal, at the laste, for lacke of a better, lest he should have letted the matter too long, he brought it even blontly forth, and asked us al that satte at his bordes end (for at his owne messe in the middes there sat but himself alone) howe well we lyked his oracyon that he hadde made that daye. But in fayth Uncle, whan that probleme was once proponed, till it was full answered, no manne (I wene) eate one morsell of meate more. Every manne was fallen in so depe a studye, for the fyndynge of some exquisite prayse. For he that shoulde have brought oute but a vulgare and a common commendacion, woulde have thoughte himself shamed for ever. Than sayde we our sentences by rowe as wee sat, from the lowest unto the hyghest in good order, as it had bene a great matter of the comon weale, in a right solemne counsayle. Whan it came to my parte, I wyll not saye it, Uncle, for no boaste, mee thoughte, by oure Ladye, for my parte, I quytte my selfe metelye wel. And I lyked my selfe the better beecause mee thoughte my wordes beinge but a straungyer, wente yet with some grace in the almain tong wherein lettying my latin alone me listed to shewe my cunnyng, and I hoped to be lyked the better, because I sawe that he that sate next mee, and should saie his sentence after mee, was an unlearned Prieste, for he could speake no latin at all. But whan he came furth for hys part with my Lordes commendation, the wyly Fox, hadde be so well accustomed in courte with the crafte of flattry that he wente beyonde me to farre.

And that might I see by hym, what excellence a right meane witte may come to in one crafte, that in al his whole life stu-

chaunced the warres betweene the realmes of England and Fraunce to be open, but upon what ground or occasion I knowe not, insomuch as the kinge, being

dyeth and busyeth his witte about no mo but that one. But I made after a solempne vowe unto my selfe, that if ever he and I were matched together at that bourde agayne: whan we should fall to our flattrye, I would flatter in latin, that he should not contende with me no more. For though I could be contente to be out runne by an horse, yet would I no more abyde it to be out runne by an asse. But Uncle, here beganne nowe the game, he that sate hygheste, and was to speake, was a greate beneficed man, and not a Doctour onely, but also somewhat learned in dede in the lawes of the Churche. A worlde it was to see howe he marked every mannes worde that spake before him. And it semed that every worde the more proper it was, the worse he liked it, for the cumbrance that he had to study out a better to passe it. The manne even swette with the laboure, so that he was faine in the while now and than to wipe his face. Howbeit in conclusion whan it came to his course, we that had spoken before him, hadde so taken up al among us before, that we hadde not lefte hym one wyse worde to speake after.

Anthony. Alas good manne! amonge so manye of you, some good felow shold have lente hym one. *Vincent.* It needed not as happe was Uncle. For he found out such a shift, that in hys flatteryng he passed us all the mayny. *Anthony.* Why, what sayde he Cosyn? *Vyncent.* By our Ladye Uncle not one worde. But lyke as I trow Plinius telleth, that whan Appelles the Paynter in the table that he paynted of the sacryfyce and the death of Iphigenia, hadde in the makynge of the sorowefull countenances of the other noble menne of Greece that beehelde it, spente out so much of his craft and hys cunnynge, that whan he came to make the countenance of King Agamemnon her father, whiche hee reserved for the laste, he could devise no maner of newe heavy chere and countenance —but to the intent that no man should see what maner countenance it was, that her father hadde, the paynter was fayne to paynte hym, holdyng his face in his handkercher. The like pageant in a maner plaide us there this good aunciente honourable flatterer. For whan he sawe that he coulde fynde no woordes of prayse, that woulde passe al that hadde bene spoken before all readye, the wyly Fox woulde speake never a word, but as he that wer ravished unto heavenwarde with the wonder of the wisdom and eloquence that my Lordes Grace hadde uttered in that ora-

being fully persuaded, and earnestly resolved, in his most royall person to invade his forreine enemies with a puissant army, to attempt their haughty bragges, whether they durst shewe their faces before him in their owne territory: wherefore it was thought very necessary, that his royall enterprize should be spedily provided and furnished in every degree of things apte and convenient for the same; for the expedition whereof the king thought no man's wit so meete, for policy and painfull travaille, as was his almoner's, to whome therefore he committed his whole affiance and trust therein. And he being nothing scrupulous in any thinge, that the kinge would command him to doe, althoughe it seamed to other very diffycile, tooke upon him the whole charge of all the business, and proceeded so therein, that he brought all things to good passe in a decent order, as of all manner of victualls, provisions, and other necessaries, convenient for so noble a voiage and army.

All things being by him perfected, and brought to a good passe, the kinge, not intending to delay or neglect the time, but with most noble and valiant courage to avaunce to his royall enterprise, passed the seas between Dover and Calais, where he prosperously arrived; and after some aboade made there by his Grace, as well for the arrival of his puissant army, provision and munition, as for the consultation of his voiage and other weighty affaires, he marched forward, in good order of battaile, untill he came to the strong towne of Tur-

oracyon, he fetched a long syghe with an Oh! from the bottome of hys breste, and helde uppe bothe hys handes, and lyfte uppe his head, and caste up his eyen into the welken and wepte. *Anthony.* Forsooth Cosyn, he plaide his parte verye properlye. But was that greate Prelates oracion Cosyn, any thyng prayseworthye?" Sir Thomas More's Works, p. 1221, 1222.

win. To the which he laid his seige, and assaulted it very strongly continually, with such vehement assaults, that within short space it was yielded unto his majesty. Unto which place the Emperor Maximilian repaired unto the kinge, with a great army, like a mighty prince, taking of the kinge his Grace's wages; which is a rare thing and but seldom seene, an Emperor to fight under a king's banner. Thus when the kinge had obtained this puissant forte, and taken the possession thereof, and set all things there in due order, for the defence and preservation thereof to his highness's use, he departed thence, and marched toward the city of Tournay, and there laid his seige in like manner; to the which he gave so fierce and sharp assaults, that they were constrained of fine force [5] to render the town unto his victorious majesty. At which time the Kinge gave to the Almoner the bishopricke of the same See towards his pains and diligence sustained in that journey. And when the Kinge had established (after possession taken there) all things agreeable to his princely will and pleasure, and furnished the same with noble captaines and men of warr, for the safeguarde of the towne, he returned againe into England, taking with him diverse noble personnages of Fraunce, being prisonners, as the Duke Longeuville, and Viscount Clearemount, with other, which were taken there in a skirmish, like a most victorious prince, and conqueror. After whose retourne imediatly, the

[5] *Of fine force.*] "Heaven and happiness eternal is τὸ ζητούμενον, that which is joined in issue, to which we are intituled, for which we plead, to which we have right; from whence by injury and treachery we have been ejected, and from whence *by fine force* we are kept out: for this we do *clamare*, by the Clergy, our Counsel, in the view of God and Angels." Montague's Diatribe upon Selden's History of Tithes, p. 130.

Sea

Sea of Lincolne fell voide by the deathe of Doctor Smith late Bishop there, the which benefice his Grace gave to his Almoner[6], late Bishop elect of Tournay, who was not negligent to take possession thereof, and made all the speede he could for his consecration; the solemnization whereof ended, he found the means, that he gat the possession of all his predecessours goods, into his handes, whereof I have diverse times seen some parte that furnished his house. It was not long after that Doctor Bambridge, Archbishop of York, died at Rome, being there the King's Ambassador, unto the which sea, the kinge immediatly presented his late new Bishop of Lincolne; so that he had three bishopricks[7] in his handes, in one yeare geven him.

Then

[6] *Gave to his Almoner.*] He was consecrated bishop of Lincoln, March 26, A. D. 1514. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 141.

[7] *So that he had three bishopricks.*] Dr. Robert Barnes preached a Sermon on the 24th of December 1525, at St. Edward's Church in Cambridge, from which Sermon certain Articles were drawn out upon which he was soon after called to make answer before the Cardinal. Barnes has left behind him a description of this examination. The sixth of these Articles was as follows. "I wyll never beleeve that one man may be, by the lawe of God, a Byshop of two or three cities, yea of an whole countrey, for it is contrarye to St. Paule, which sayth, *I have left thee behynde, to set in every citye a Byshop.*"

"I was brought afore my Lorde Cardinall into his Galary, (continues Dr. Barnes), and there hee reade all myne articles, tyll hee came to this, and there he stopped, and sayd, that this touched hym, and therefore hee asked me, if I thought it wronge, that one byshop shoulde have so many cityes underneath hym; unto whom I answered, that I could no farther go, than to St. Paules texte, whych sat in every cytye a byshop. Then asked hee mee, if I thought it now unright (seeing the ordinaunce of the Church) that one byshop should have so many cities. I aunswered that I knew none ordinaunce of the Church, as concerning this thinge, but St. Paules sayinge onelye. Nevertheles I did see a contrarye custom and practise in the world, but I know not the originall thereof.

Then

Then prepared he again of newe as fast for his translation from the Sea of Lincoln, unto the Sea of Yorke, as he did before to his stallation. After which solemnization done, and being then an Archbishop and *Primas Angliæ*, he thought himself sufficient to compare with Canterbury; and thereupon erected his crosse in the court, and every other place, as well within the precinct and jurisdiction of Canterbury, as in any other place. And forasmuch as Canterbury claimeth a superiority over Yorke, as of all other Bishoprickes within England, and for that cause claimeth, as a knowledge of an auncient obedience, of Yorke to abate the avauncing of his crosse, in presence of the crosse of Canterbury; notwithstanding Yorke nothing minding to desist from bearing thereof, in manner as I said before, caused his crosse to be avaunced[8] and borne before him, as well in the presence of Canterbury as elsewhere. Wherefore Canterbury being moved therewith, gave unto Yorke a certaine check for his presumption; by reason whereof there engendered some grudge betweene Yorke and Canterbury. Yorke perceiv-

Then sayde hee, that in the Apostles tyme, there were dyvers cities, some seven myle, some six myle long, and over them was there set but one byshop, and of their suburbs also: so likewise now, a byshop hath but one citye to his cathedrall churche, and the country about is as suburbs unto it. Me thought this was farre fetched, but I durst not denye it." Barnes's *Works*, p. 210. A. D. 1573.

[8] *To be avaunced.*] This was not the first time in which this point of precedency had been contested. Edward III. in the sixth year of his reign, at a time when a similar debate was in agitation, having summoned a Parliament at York, the Archbishop of Canterbury and all the other Prelates of his Province, declined giving their attendance, that the Metropolitan of all England might not be obliged to submit his Cross to that of York, in the Province of the latter. Fox, p. 387, 388.

ing

ing the obedience that Canterbury claimed of him, intended to provide some such means that he would be rather superior in dignity to Canterbury, than to be either obedient or equal to him. Whereupon he obtained first to be made Priest Cardinall and *Legatus de latere*, unto whom the Pope sent a Cardinall's hat with certaine bulles for his authority in that behalfe. Yet by the way of communication you shall understande that the Pope sent him this worthy hat of dignity as a jewell of his honor and authority, the which was conveied in a varlett's budget, who seemed to all men to be but a person of small estimation. Whereof Yorke being advertised of the baseness of this messenger, and of the people's opinion, thought it not meete for the honor of so highe a message, that this jewell should be conveied by so simple a person; wherefore he caused him to be stopped by the way, imediatly after his arrivall in England, where he was newely furnished in all manner of apparell, with all kinde of costly silkes, which seemed decent for such an high ambassador. And that done he was encountered upon Blackheathe, and there received with a great assembly of Prelats and lusty gallant gentlemen, and from thence conducted and convaied through London, with great triumphe. Then was great and spedy provision[9] and preparation

[9] *Great and spedy provision.*] "Not farre unlike to this was the receaving of the Cardinals hatte. Which when a ruffian had brought unto him to Westminster under his cloke, he clothed the messenger in rich aray, and sent him backe to Dover againe, and appoynted the Bishop of Canterbury to meete him, and then another company of Lordes and Gentles I wotte not how oft, ere it came to Westminster, where it was set on a cupborde and tapers about, so that the greatest Duke in the lande must make curtesie thereto: yea and to his empty seat he being away." Tindal's *Works*, p. 374. Fox's *Acts*, p. 902.

made

made in Westminster Abby for the confirmation, and acceptaunce of this highe order and dignity; the which was executed by all the Bishopes and Abbots about or nigh London, with their rich miters and copes and other ornaments; which was done in so solemn a wise, as I have not seene the like, unlesse it had bin at the coronation of a mighty prince and kinge.

Obtaining this dignity he thought himself meete to encounter with Canterbury in high jurisdiction before expressed; and that also he was as mete to beare authority among the temporall powers, as among the spirituall jurisdictions. Wherefore remembering as well the tauntes and checkes before sustained of Canterbury, the which he intended to redresse, as having a respect to the advauncement of worldly honor, promotion and great benefit, he founde the meanes with the Kinge, that he was made Lord Chancellor of England; and Canterbury which was then Chancellor dismissed, who had continued in that honorable rome, since long before the death of kinge Henry the seventh.

Now he being in possession of the chancellorship, and endowed with the promotions of an Archbishop, and Cardinall *de latere*, thought himselfe fully furnished with such authorities and dignities, that he was able to surmount Canterbury in all jurisdictions and ecclesiasticall powers, having power to convocate Canterbury, and all other Bishops and spirituall persons, to assemble at his convocation, where he would assigne; and tooke upon him the correction of matters in all their jurisdictions, and visited all the spirituall houses, having also in every diocese through this realme all manner of spirituall ministers, as commissaries, scribes, apparitors, and all other necessary officers to furnish his courtes; and presented by prevention

tion whom he pleased unto all benefices throughout all this realme, and dominions thereof. And to the advancing further of his Legantine jurisdiction and honors, he had masters of his faculties, masters Ceremoniarum, and such other like persons, to the glorifying of his dignity. Then had he twoe great crosses of silver, whereof one of them was of his Archbishoprick, and the other of his Legacy, borne before him whither soever he went or rode, by two of the tallest priestes that he could get within this realme. And to the increase of his gaines he had also the bishopricke of Durham, and the Abbey of St. Albans *in commendam;* and after, when Bishop Fox, Bishop of Winchester died, he surrendered Durham into the King's hands, and tooke to him Winchester. Then had he in his hands, as it were *in ferme*, the Bishoprickes of Bathe, Worcester, and Hereforde, for as much as the incumbents of them were strangers[1], and made their aboade continually beyond the seas, in their own countries, or else in Rome, from whence they were sent in legation to this realme, unto the kinge. And for their rewardes, at their departure, the wise kinge Henry the seventh thought it better to give them that thinge which he himself could not keepe, than to disbourse or defray any thing of his treasure. And they being but strangers, thought it then more meete for their assurance, and to have their jurisdiction preserved and maintained, to suffer the Cardinall to have their benefices for a convenient sum of money paide them yearely, whereas they remained, than either to be troubled with the charges of the same, or to be yearely burdened with the conveyaunce of their revenues unto them: so that all the spirituall promotions, and presenta-

[1] *Were strangers.*] See *Life of Wickliffe*, p. 30.

tions

tions of these Bishopricks were wholy and fully in his domaine and disposition, to preferre whom he listed. He had also a great number daily attending upon him, bothe of noblemen and worthy gentlemen, of great estimation and possessions, with no small number of the tallest yeomen, that he could get in all the realme, insomuch that well was that nobleman and gentellman, that could preferr a talle yeoman into his service.

Nowe to speak of the order and officers of his House, I think it be necessary here to be remembered. And first you shall understande, that he had in his hall continually three bordes, kept with three severall principall officers; that is to say a Stewarde which was alwaies a priest, a Treasurer a knight, and a Comptroller an esquire. Also a cofferer being a doctour; three marshalles, three yeomen ushers in the halle, besides twoe groomes and almoners. Then had he in the hall-kitchen two clarkes of the kitchen, a clerke comptroller, a surveyor of the dresser, a clerke of his spicery, the which together kept also a continual mess in the hall. Also in the hall-kitchen he had master cookes two, and of other cookes, labourers, and children of the kitchine twelve persons; four yeomen of the scullery, and four other yeomen of his silver scullery; two yeomen of his pastery, with two other pastellers under the yeomen.

Then had he in his privy kitchen a Master Cook who went daily in velvet or in sattin with a chaine of gould, with two other yeomen, and labourers six in the same roome; in the Larder a yeoman and a groome; in the Scalding house a yeoman and two groomes; in the Saulcery two persons; in the Buttery two yeomen, two groomes, and two pages; and in the Ewery likewise: in the Celler three yeomen and three pages; in his Chaundery two; in

in the Wafery two; in the Wardrobe of bedds the master of the wardrobe, and ten persons; in the Laundery a yeoman, a groome, thirteen pages; two yeomen purveiours, and one groome; in the Bakehouse a yeoman and two groomes; in the Woode-yarde a yeoman and a groome; in the Barne one; in the Garden a yeoman and two groomes; porters at the gate two yeomen, and two groomes; a yeoman of his barge; and a master of his horse; a clerke of the stable, a yeoman of the same; the Saddler, the Farrier, a yeoman of his Chariot, a Sumpter man, a yeoman of his stirrup; a Muleteer, sixteen groomes of his stable, every one of them kept four geldings: in the Almeserie, a yeoman, and a groome.

Now will I declare unto you the officers of his chappel, and singing men in the same. First he had there a Deane, a great divine and a man of excellent learning; a Sub-deane; a Repetor of the quier, a Gospeller, a Pisteiler; of Singing Priests ten; a Master of the children. The seculars of the chappel, being singing men, twelve; singing children ten, with one servaunte to waite upon the children. In the Revestry, a yeoman and two groomes: over and besides diverse retainers that came thither at principall feasts. And as for furpiture of his chappel, it passeth my capacity to declare the number of the costly ornaments and rich jewells, that were to be occupied in the same continually. For I have seen in procession about the hall forty four of very rich copes, of one sute worn, besides the rich crosses and candlesticks, and other necessary ornaments to the furniture of the same. Nowe shall ye understande that he had two crosse bearers and two pillar bearers: in his great chamber, and in his privy chamber all these persons; first the cheefe Chamberlaine, and Vice-chamberlaine; of Gentlemen ushers, besides one in his privy chamber,

chamber, he had twelve daily waiters; and of Gentlemen waiters in his privy chamber he had six; and of Lordes nine or tenne, who had each of them two men allowed them to attend upon them, except the earl of Darby, who had allowed five men. Then had he of Gentlemen, of cupbearers, of carvers, of sewers bothe of the privy chamber, and of the great chamber, with Gentlemen daily waiters there forty persons; of yeomen ushers he had six; of groomes in the chamber he had eight; of yeomen of his chamber he had five and forty dayly; he had also of almes men some more in number than other some time, there attending upon his borde at dinner. Of doctors and chaplens, beside them of his chapple, which I rehearsed before, he had in number dayly attending sixteen: a clerke of his closet. Then had he secretaries two; two clerkes of his signet; and four counsaillors learned in the lawe.

Forasmuch as he was Chauncellor of England, it was necessary to have diverse officers of the Chauncery there to attend dayly upon him, for the better furniture of the same. That is to say, first he had the Clerke of the Crowne, a Riding Clerke, a Clerke of the Hamper, a Chafer of the Waxe. Then had he a Clerke of the Checke, as well upon his Chaplaines, as of his Yeoman of his Chamber; he had also fower Foote men, which were garnished in riche running coates, whensoever he rode in any journey. Then had he an Herald of Armes, and a Sergeaunt of Armes; a Physition, a Poticary; fower Ministreles; a Keeper of his Tentes, an Armourer; an Instructor of his Wardes, two Yeomen in the Wardrobe of his robes, and a Keeper of his Chamber continually in the courte. He had also dayly in his house the Surveyor of Yorke, and a Clerke of the Greene cloathe.

cloathe. All these were dayly attending downe lying and up-rising. At meales he kept in his Great Chamber a continual borde for the Chamberleenes, and Gentlemen Officers, having with them a mess of the young Lordes [2], and another of Gentlemen. And besides all these, there was never an officer and gentleman, or any other wor-

[2] *A mess of the young Lordes.*] Among whom, as we shall see below, was the eldest son of the earl of Northumberland. This was according to a practice much more ancient than the time of Wolsey; agreeably to which young men of the most exalted rank resided in the families of distinguished ecclesiastics, under the denomination of pages, but more probably for the purposes of education, than of service. In this way sir Thomas More was brought up under cardinal Morton, archbishop of Canterbury; of whom he has given a very interesting character in his Utopia. From Fiddes's Appendix to the Life of Wolsey, p. 19. it appears, that the custom was at least as old as the time of Grosthed, bishop of Lincoln, in the reign of Henry III. and that it continued for some time during the 17th century. In a paper, written by the earl of Arundel, in the year 1620, and intitled, *Instructions for you my son William, how to behave yourself at Norwich*, the earl charges him, "You shall in all things reverence, honour, and obey my lord bishop of Norwich, as you would do any of your parents; esteeminge whatsoever he shall tell or command you, as if your grandmother of Arundell, your mother, or myself should say it; and in all things esteem yourself as my lord's page; a breeding, which youths of my house, far superior to you, were accustomed unto; as my grandfather of Norfolk, and his brother, my good uncle of Northampton, were both bredd as pages with bishopps." See also Paul's *Life of archbishop Whitgift*, p. 97.

It is not out of place to mention, what we are told by sir George Wheler in his *Protestant Monastery*, p. 158. A. D. 1698. "I have heard say, in the times no longer ago than king Charles I. that many noblemen's and gentlemen's houses in the country, were like academies, where the gentlemen and women of lesser fortunes came for education with those of the family; among which number was the famous sir Beaville Granville and his lady, father and mother of our present lord of Bath."

thy

thy person, but he was allowed in the house, some three, some two, servauntes, and all other one at the least, which grew to a great number of persons. Nowe have I described the order according to the check roll of his house, and what officers and servauntes he had dayly attending to furnish the same, besides diverse retainers, and of other persons being suters, that most commonly dined in the hall. And when we shall see any more such subjects, that shall keepe the like noble house, I am content he be advanced above him in honour. But I feare, for my parte, never to see it; therefore here an end of his household. The number of the persons in his check roll were one hundred and eighty[3].

You have heard of the order and officers of his house; now I do intend to proceed further of his proceedings.

After that he was thus furnished, in manner as I have before rehearsed unto you, he was sent twice in an embassage unto the emperor Charles the fifth that now reigneth, and father unto king Philip now our soveraigne lord. Forasmuch as the old emperor Maximilian was deade, and for divers urgent causes touching the king's majesty, it was thought that in so weighty affaires, and to so noble a prince, the Cardinal was most meete to be sent on this embassage. Wherefore he being ready to take upon him the charge thereof, was furnished in all degrees and purposes most likest a great prince, which was much to the high honor of the Kings Majesty, and of this realme. For first he proceeded forthe furnished like a cardinall of high estimation, having all things there according. His

[3] *One hundred and eighty.*] The printed Life says eight hundred persons, which seems a more probable number.

gentlemen,

gentlemen, being very many in number, were cloathed in livery coates of crimson velvet of the best, with chaines of gould about their neckes; and his yeomen and all his meane officers were in coates of fine scarlet, garded with black velvet an hand broade. Thus furnished he was twice in this manner sent unto the emperor into Flanders, the emperor lying then in Bruges; whome he did most highely entertaine[4], discharging all his charges, and all his mens. There was no house within the towne of Bruges, wherein any gentlemen of the cardinalls were lodged or had recourse, but that the owners were commanded by the emperors officers, that they, upon paine of their lives, should take no money for any thing that the cardinalls servauntes did take of any kind of victualls, no although they were disposed to make any costly banquettes; commanding furthermore their said hostes, to see that they lacke no such things as they honestly required, or desired to have, for their honesty and pleasure. Also the emperors officers every nighte went throughe the towne, from house to house, whereas any English gentleman did repast or lodged, and served their liveries for all night; which was done in this manner: first the officers brought into the house a cast of fine manchet[5], and of silver two great pottes, with white wine, and sugar, to the weight of a pound; white lightes and yellow lightes; a bowle of silver, with a goblet to drinke in; and every night a staffe torch. This was the order of

4 *Most highely entertaine.*] At Bruges, "he was received with great solemnity, as belongeth unto so mighty a pillar of Christes church, and was saluted at the entring into the towne of a merry fellow which sayd, *Salve rex regis tui, atque regni sui*, Hayle both king of thy king, and also of his realme." Tindal's *Works*, p. 370. A. D. 1572.

5 *Fine manchet.*] Bread of the finest flour.

their liveries every night. And then in the morning, when the same officers came to fetch away their stuffe, then would they accompt with the hostes for the gentlemens costes spent in the daye before. Thus the emperor entertained the cardinall and all his traine, for the time of his embassage there. And that done, he returned home again into Englande, with great triumphe, being no lesse in estimation with the kinge, than he was before, but rather much better.

Nowe will I declare unto you his order in going to Westminster Hall, dayly in the tearme season. First ere he came out of his privy chamber, he heard most commonly every day two masses in his closet: and as I heard one of his chaplains saye, which was a man of credence and of excellent learning, the cardinall, what business or weighty matters soever he had in the day, he never went to his bed with any parte of his divine service unsaide, not so much as one collect; wherein I doubt not but he deceived the opinion of diverse persons. Then going againe to his privy chamber, he would demaund to some of his saide chamber, if his servauntes were in a readiness, and had furnished his chamber of presence, and waiting chamber. He being thereof then advertised, came out of his privy chamber, about eight of the clocke, apparelled all in red; that is to say, his upper garment was either of fine scarlet, or taffety, but most commonly of fine crimson satten engrained; his pillion of fine scarlet, with a neck set in the inner side with blacke velvet, and a tippet of sables about his necke; holding in his hande an orange, whereof the meate or substance within was taken out, and filled up againe with the parte of a spunge, wherein was vinegar and other confections against the pestilent aires; the which he most

most commonly held to his nose when he came among any presse, or else that he was pestered with any suiters. And before him was borne first the broade seale of Englande, and his cardinall's hat by a Lorde or some Gentleman of worship, right solemnely. And as soone as he was entered into his chamber of presence, where there was dayly attending upon him, as well noble men of this realme, and other worthy gentlemen, as gentlemen of his owne family; his two great crosses were there attending, to be borne before him. Then cried the gentlemen ushers, going before him, bare headed, and said "On before my lordes and masters, on before; and make way for my Lord Cardinall." Thus went he downe through the hall with a sergeaunt of armes before him bearing a great mace of silver, and two gentlemen carrying of two great pillars of silver; and when he came to the hall doore, then his mule stood trapped all in crimson velvet, with a saddle of the same, and gilt stirrups. Then was there attending upon him, when he was mounted, his two crosse bearers, and his pillar bearers[6], in like case, upon great horses trapped

[6] *Two crosse-bearers, and his pillar-bearers.*] The pillar, as well as the cross, was emblematical, and designed to imply, that the dignitary before whom it was carried was a *pillar* of the church. Dr. Barnes, who had good reason why these pillars should be uppermost in his thoughts, glances at this emblem, in the case of the cardinal, in the following words; "and yet it must bee true, because a *pillar of the church* hath spoken it." Barnes's *Works*, p. 210. A. D. 1572. See also Tindal's *Works*, p. 370.

Skelton, Poet-laureate of that time, wrote a most severe satire and invective against this cardinal, and upon its publication fled to the sanctuary in Westminster for refuge. He therein takes notice of these crosses (and pillars) in the following lines:

trapped all in fine scarlett. Then marched he forwarde, with a traine of noblemen and gentlemen, having his foote-men fower in number about him, bearing each of them a gilt poll-axe in their handes; and thus passed he forthe untill he came to Westminster Hall doore. And there he alighted and went after this manner, up into the chauncery, or into the star chamber; howbeit most commonly he would goe into the chauncery, and staye a while at a barre, made for him, beneathe the chauncery, on the right hand, and there common sometimes with the judges, and sometimes with other persons. And that done he would repaire into the chauncery, sitting there till an eleven of the clocke, hearing of suites and determining of other matters. And from thence, he would diverse times, goe into the star chamber, as occasion would serve. There he spared neither highe nor lowe, but judged every estate according to his merits, and desertes.

He used also every Sunday to resorte to the courte, then being for the most parte of all the yeere at

With worldly pompe incredible
Before him rydeth two prestes stronge,
And they bear two *crosses* right longe,
Gapynge in every mans face.
After them folowe two laye-men secular
And eache of theym holdyng a *pillar*
In their houdes, steade of a mace.
Then foloweth my lorde on his mule
Trapped with gold.
Then hath he servants five or six score
Some behynd and some before.

Almost every action of Wolsey hath been interpreted as an instance of pomp, ambition, or insolence; notwithstanding probably, upon a strict examination, most of them will be found to be strictly precedented. Anstis's *Letter to Dr. Fiddes*, in Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 89. Appendix.

Greenwiche,

Greenwiche, with his former triumphs, taking his barge at his owne staires furnished with yeomen standing upon the bayles, and his gentlemen being within a boat; and landed again at the Three Cranes in the vintree. And from thence he rode upon his mule, with his crosses, his pillers, his hat, and the broade seale carried before him, on horseback through Thames-street, untill he came to Billingsgate; and there took his barge againe, and so rowed to Greenwich, where he was nobly received of the lordes and chief officers of the kings house, bearing their white staves, as the treasurer and comptroller, with many others; and so they conveied him to the kings chamber, his crosses, for the time of his tarrying, standing there in a corner, on the one side of the kings cloath of estate. Then he being there, the courte was fully furnished with noble men and gentlemen, which was before his coming but slenderly furnished. And after dinner among the lordes, having some consultation with the kinge, or with his counsell, he would depart home with like triumphe[7]: and this

[7] *With like triumphe.*] We have already seen that all this pomp did not pass free from animadversion. But it was exposed to censures more solemn than those which flowed merely from the satirist's pen. Sir Thomas More, when speaker of the House of Commons, noticing a complaint which had been made by the cardinal, that nothing could be said or done in that house, but it was presently spread abroad, and became the talk of every tavern or alehouse, "Masters, (says he) forasmuche as my lord cardinall latelie laied to our charges the lightnes of our tongues for things uttered out of this house, it shall not in my minde be amisse to receive him with all his pompe, with his maces, his pillers, pollaxes, his crosses, his hatt, and the greate seale too; to thintent, that if he finde the like fault with us heereafter, wee maie be the bolder from ourselves to laie the blame on those that his grace bringeth hither with him."

this order he used continually, as opportunity did serve.

Thus in great honour, triumphe, and glory he reigned a long season, ruling all things within this realme, appertayning unto the kinge, by his wisdome, and also in all other weighty matters in foraigne regions, with which the king of this realme had any occasion to intermeddle. All ambassadors

Roper's *Life of Sir Thomas More*, p. 38. edit. 1729. Sir Thomas also, in his Apology, written in the year 1533, reflects severely upon the change introduced among the clergy, through the cardinall's means in the luxury and sumptuousness of their dress. *Works*, p. 892.

The pulpit likewise occasionally raised its voice against him. Doctor Barnes, who was burnt in Smithfield in the year 1541, preached at St. Edward's church in Cambridge, a sermon, for which he was called to appear before the cardinal. This was a part of their dialogue, as it is related in Fox: "What Master Doctor (said the cardinall) had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pollaxes, my pillers, my golden cushions, my cross did so sore offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? We were jolily that day laughed to scorne. Verely it was a sermon more fitter to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit; for at the last you said I weare a paire of *redde* gloves, I should say *bloudie* gloves *(quoth you)* that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies. And Barnes answered, I spake nothing but the truth out of the scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1088. Barnes himself drew up an account of this interview, in which he opens to us some part of the philosophy upon which the cardinal defended the fitness of that pomp and state which he maintained. "Then sayd hee, how thinke you, were it better for me, being in the honour and dignitie that I am, to coyne my pyllers, and pollaxes, and to give the money to five or six beggers, then for to maintaine the common-wealth by them, as I doe? Do you not reckon *(quoth hee)* the common-wealth better then five or sixe beggers? To this I did answere, that I reckoned it more to the honour of God, and to the salvation of *his* soule, and also to the comfort of his poore brethren, that they were coyned, and given in almes." Barnes's *Works*, p. 215. A. D. 1572. Compare Fox's *Acts*, p. 956.

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of foraigne potentates were alwaies dispatched by his wisdome, to whom they had continuall access for their dispatch. His house was alwaies resorted like a kings house, with noble men and gentlemen, with coming and going in and out, feasting and banquetting these ambassadors diverse times, and all other right nobly.

And when it pleased the Kings Majesty, for his recreation, to repaire unto the cardinalls house, as he did diverse times in the yeare, there wanted no preparation, or goodly furniture, with viandes of the finest sorte that could be gotten for money or friendshippe. Such pleasures were then devised for the Kings consolation, or comforte, as might be invented or imagined. Banquettes were set forthe, masks, and moumeries, in so gorgeous a sorte, and costly manner, that it was a heaven to behold. There wanted no dames, nor damoselles, meete or apt to daunce with the maskers, or to garnish the place for that time, with other goodly disportes. Then was there all kinde of musicke and harmony set forthe, with excellent fine voices bothe of men and children. I have seen the kinge come sodainly thither in a maske with a dozen maskers all in garments, like shepardes, made of fine cloathe of golde, and fine crimson satten *paned*, and cappes of the same, with visors of good proportion of visnamy; their heares, and beardes either of fine golde wier or of silver, or else of good black silke; having sixteene torch bearers, besides three drummes, and other persons attending them, with visors, clothed all in satten, of the same color. And before his entering into the hall, ye shall understand, that he came by water to the water gate, without any noyse, where were laide divers chambers and gunnes, charged with shot, and at his landing they were shote off, which made such a rumble

a rumble in the ayer, that it was like thunder. It made all the noble men, gentlemen, ladies, and gentlewomen to muse what it should meane coming so sodainly, they sitting quiet at solemne banquet; under this sorte: First ye shall perceive, that the tables were set in the chamber of presence, nise covered, and my Lord Cardinall sitting under the cloathe of estate, there having all his service alone; and then was there set a lady and a noble man, or a gentleman or gentlewoman, throughout all the tables in the chamber on the one side, which were made adjoyning, as it were but one table. All which order and devise was done by the lorde Sandes, then lorde chamberlaine to the king, and by sir Henry Guilforde controller of the kings majesties house. Then immediately after this great shot of gunnes, the cardinall desired the lord chamberlain, and the said controller to looke what it should meane, as though he knew nothing of the matter. They looking out of the windowes into the Thames, returned againe, and shewed him, that it seemed they were noble men and strangers arrived at his bridge, coming as ambassadors from some forraigne prince. With that quoth the cardinall, "I desire you, because you can speake Frenche, to take the pains to goe into the hall there to receive them, according to their estates, and to conduct them into this chamber, where they shall see us, and all these noble personages being merry at our banquett, desiring them to sit downe with us, and to take parte of our fare." Then went they incontinent downe into the hall, whereas they received them with twenty newe torches, and conveied them up into the chamber, with such a number of drums and flutes, as I have seldome seen together, at one place and time. At their arrivall into the chamber, two and

two

two together, they went directly before the cardinall where he sat, and saluted him very reverently; to whom the lorde chamberlain for them saide, "Sir, forasmuch as they be strangers, and cannot speake Englishe, they have desired me to declare unto you, that they, having understanding of this your triumphant banquette, where was assembled such a number of excellent faire dames, could doe no lesse, under the supportation of your grace, but to repaire hither to viewe as well their incomparable beauty, as for to accompany them at mumchaunce, and then after to daunce with them, and to have of their acquaintance. And sir, furthermore they require of your grace licence to accomplish the saide cause of their cominge." To whome the cardinall saide, he was very well content they should so doe. Then went the maskers and first saluted all the dames, and then returned to the most worthiest, and there opened their great cup of gold, filled with crownes, and other pieces of golde, to whome they set certaine of the pieces of golde to cast at. Thus perusing all the ladies and gentlewomen, to some they loste, and of some they wonne. And perusing after this manner all the ladies, they returned to the cardinall, with great reverence, pouring downe all the golde left in their cuppe, which was above two hundred crownes. "At all," quoth the cardinall, and so cast the dice, and wonne them, whereat was made great noyse and joie. Then quoth the cardinall to my lord chamberlen, "I pray you," quoth he, "that you will shew them, that mee seemeth, there should be a noble man amongst them, who is more meete to occupy this seate and place then am I; to whome I would most gladly surrender the same, according to my duty, if I knewe him." Then spake my lord chamberlain

chamberlain unto them in French, declaring my lorde cardinall's wordes, and they rounding him againe in the eare, the lord chamberlen saide to my lorde cardinall, "Sir, they confesse," quoth he, "that among them there is such a noble personnage, whome if your grace can appoint out from the rest, he is content to disclose himselfe, and to take and accepte your place, most worthely." With that the cardinall, taking a good advisement among them, at the last quoth he, "Me seemeth the gentleman with the black bearde should be even he." And with that he rose out of his chaire, and offered the same to the same gentleman in the blacke bearde, with his cap in his hande. The person to whom he offered then his chaire was sir Edward Neville, a comely knight of a goodly personnage, that much more resembled the kings person in that maske, than any other. The king hearing and perceiving the cardinall so deceived in his estimation and choice, could not forbear laughing, but pulled down his visor, and Mr. Neville's also, and dashed out such a pleasant countenance and cheare, that all the noble estates there assembled, perceiving the kinge to be there amongst them, rejoiced very much. The cardinall eftsoones desired his highnesse to take the place of estate, to whome the king answered, that he would goe first and shifte his apparell; and soe departed, and went straighte into my lord cardinalls bed chamber, where was a great fire prepared for him; and there newe apparalled him with riche and princely garments. And in the time of the kings absence, the dishes of the banquette were cleane taken up, and the table spreade againe with newe and cleane perfumed cloathes; every man sitting still untill the kings majesty with all his maskers came in among them againe, every

every man new apparelled. Then the king tooke his seate under the cloathe of estate, comanding every person to sit still, as they did before. In came a newe Banquette before the King's Majesty, and to all the reste throughout all the tables, wherein, I suppose, were served two hundred divers dishes of wonderous costly devises and subtilties. Thus passed they forthe the nighte with banquetting, dauncing, and other triumphant devises, to the great comforte of the Kinge, and pleasaunt regarde of the nobility there assembled.

All this matter I have declared largely, because ye shall understande what joye and delight the Cardinall had, to see his prince and soveraigne Lorde in his house, so nobely entertained and placed, which was alwaies his only study, to devise things to his comforte, not passing upon the charges or expenses. It delighted him so much, to have the King's pleasaunt and princely presence, that nothing was to him more delectable, than to cheare his soveraigne Lorde, to whome he owed so much obedience and loyalty; as reason required no lesse, all things well considered.

Thus passed the Cardinall his time forthe, from daye to daye, and yeare to yeare, in such great wealthe, joye, and triumphe, and glory, having alwaies on his side the King's especiall favor; untill fortune, of whose favour no man is longer assured, than she is disposed, began to waxe somethinge wrothe with his prosperous estate. And for the better meane to bring him lowe, she procured Venus, the insatiate goddess, to be her instrument; who brought the Kinge in love with a Gentlewoman, that, after she perceived and felt the King's goodwill towards her, how glad he was to please her, and to graunt all her requests, wrought the Cardinall muche displeasure; as hereafter shall be

more

more at large declared. This Gentlewoman was the Daughter of Sir Thomas Bulleine knighte, being at that time but only a Batchelor knight, the which afterwards, for the love of his daughter, was promoted to high dignities. He bare at diverse severall times for the most parte all the great romes of the king's household, as Comptroller, and Treasurer, and the like. Then was he made Viscount Rocheforde; and at the last created Earle of Wiltshire, and knight of the noble Order of the Garter; and, for his more increase of honor and gaines, was made Lorde Keeper of the Privy Seale, and one of the chiefest of the King's counsell. Thus continued he, untill his sonne and daughter began to fall into the King's high indignation and displeasure. The King during his favor fantased soe much his Daughter, that almost all things began to growe out of frame.

To tell you howe the King's love began to take place, and what followed thereof, I will doe even as much as I know to declare to you. This gentlewoman was commonly called Mistress Anne Bulleine. She being but very young[8] was sent into the realme of Fraunce, and there made one of the french[9] Queene's women, continuing there untill

[8] *Very young.*] "Not above seven years of age, anno 1514." M. S. Twysd. The above is taken from a small fragment of this Life, which has been very recently printed, from a MS. in the hand-writing of Sir Roger Twysden, Bart. in the margin of which fragment a few notes occur, from the pen of the same eminent Antiquarian.

[9] *One of the French.*] "It should seeme by somme that she served three in France successively; Mary of England maryed to Lewis the twelfth an. 1514, with whome she went out of England, but Lewis dying the first of January following, and that Queene (being) to returne home, sooner than either Sir Thomas Bullen or some other of her frendes liked she should, she was preferred to Claude, daughter to Lewis XII. and wife to Francis I. then Queene (it is likely upon the commendation

of

the french Queen died. And then was she sent for home againe; and being againe with her Father, he made such meanes, that she was admitted one of Queen Katherine's women; among whome, for her excellent gesture and behaviour, she did excell all other: in so much that the King began to growe enamoured with her; which was not known to any person, ne scantly to her owne person.

Nowe was at that time the Lorde Peircie, sonne and heire of the Earle of Northumberlande, attending upon my Lord Cardinall, and was his servaunte; and when it chaunced the said Lorde Cardinall at any time to repaire unto the courte, the Lord Percie would resorte then for his pastime into Queen Katherine's Chamber, and there would he fall in dalliance among the maides, being at the the last more conversante with Mrs. Anne Bulleine, than with any other, so that there grewe such a secrette love betweene them, that at the length, they were insured together[1], intending to marrye. The which thinge when it came to the King's knowledge, he was therewith mightily offended. Wherefore he could no longer hide his secret affection, but he revealed his whole displeasure and se-

of Mary the Dowager) who not long after dying, an. 1524, not yet weary of France she went to live with Marguerite, Dutchess of Alançon and Berry, a Lady much commended for her favor towards good letters, but never enough for the Protestant religion then in the infancy—from her, if I am not deceived, she first learnt the grounds of Protestant religion; so that England may seem to owe some part of her happyness derived from that Lady." M. S. Twysd.

[1] *Insured together.*] This expression, unless the author himself were mis-informed, must not be extended to imply an absolute pre-contract. For Lord Herbert in his Life of Henry VIII. p. 448, has published an original letter from this nobleman, then Earl of Northumberland, written in the year 1536, a short time before Q. Anne's suffering, in which he denies any such contract, in the most solemn terms.

crets,

crets unto the Cardinall in that behalfe; and willed him to infringe the assurannce, made then betweene the saide Lord Peircie and Mrs. Anne Bulleine, : In somuch as, the Cardinall, after his retourne home from the courte to his house in Westminster, being in his gallery, not forgetting the King's commandement, called then the saide Lord Peircie unto his presence, and before us his servauntes, then attending upon him, saide unto him thus. "I marvaile not a little," quoth he, "of thy folly, that thou wouldest thus entangle and ensure thyselfe with a foolish girle yonder in the courte, Anne Bulleine. Doest thou not consider the estate that God hath called thee unto in this worlde? For after thy father's death, thou art most like to inherit and enjoye one of the noblest earledomes of this region. Therefore it had bene most meete, and convenient for thee, to have sued for the consent of thy father in that case, and to have also made the King's Highness privy thereof, requiring therein his princely favor, submitting thy proceedinge in all such matters unto his Highness, who would not only thankfully have accepted thy submission, but would, I am assured, have provided so for thy purpose therein, that he would have advaunced thee much more nobly, and have matched thee according to thine estate, and honor, whereby thou mightest have growne so by thy wise behaviour in the King's high estimation, that it should have bene much thine advauncement. But now see what ye have done, through your willfulness. You have not only offended your Father, but also your loving Soveraigne Lorde, and matched your selfe with one, such as neither the King, nor your Father will be agreeable to the match. And hereof I put thee out of doubt, that I will send for thy Father, and at his coming, he shall either breake

this

this unadvised bargaine, or else disinherit thee for ever. The King's Majesty himselfe will complaine to thy Father on thee, and require no lesse than I have saide; whose Highnesse intending to have preferred Anne Bulleine unto another person, wherein the Kinge hath already travelled, and being almost at a pointe with the same person for her, although she knoweth not it, yet hath the Kinge, most like a politique and prudent prince, conveied the matter in such sorte, that she, upon his Grace's motion, will be, I doubt not, right glade, and agreeable to the same." "Sir," quoth the Lorde Piercie all weping, "I know nothing of the King's pleasure herein, for the which I am very sorry. I considered I am of good yeares, and thought myselfe sufficient to provide me a convenient wife, whereas my fancy served me best, not doubting but that my Lorde my Father, would have bene right well contented. And although she be but a simple maide, having but a Knight to her father, yet she is descended of right noble bloud and parentage. As for her Mother, she is nigh of the Norfolke's bloud; and as for her Father, he is descended of the Earle of Ormond, being one of the Earle's heirs generall. Why should I then Sir, be any thing scrupulous to matche with her, whose estate and descent is equall with mine, even when I shall be in most dignity? Therefore I most humbly require your Grace of your favor herein; and also to intreat the King's Majesty most humbly on my behalfe, for his princely favor in this matter, the which I cannot forsake." "Loe Sirs," quoth the Cardinall unto us, "ye may see what wisdome is in this willfull boies heade. I thought when thou heardest me declare the King's pleasure and intendment herein, that thou wouldest have relented, and put thyselfe, and thy voluptuous acte

wholly

wholly to the King's will and pleasure, and by him to have been ordered, as his Grace should have thought good." "Sir," quoth the Lorde Piercie, "so I would, but in this matter I have gone so far, before many worthy witnesses, that I know not how to discharge my selfe and my conscience." "Whie, thinkest thou," saide the Cardinall, "that the King and I know not what we have to doe, in as weighty a matter as this? Yes (quoth he), I warrant thee. But I can see in thee no submission to the purpose." "Forsothe, my Lord," quoth the Lord Peircy, "if it please your Grace, I will submit myself wholly unto the King's Majestie, and to your Grace in this matter, my conscience being discharged of the weighty burthen thereof." "Well then, quoth the Cardinal, I will send for your Father out of the North partes, and he and we shall take suche order in this matter as shall be thought by the King most convenient. And in the meane season, I charge that thou resort no more into her company, as thou wilt abide the King's indignation." And therewith he rose up, and went his way into his chamber.

Then was the Earle of Northumberland sent for in the King's name, who upon the receit of the King's letters, made all the spede that he could unto the King, out of the North. At his comyng first he made his resorte unto my Lord Cardinall, as most commonly did all other noble personages that were sent for in such sorte, at whose hands they were advertised of the cause of their sending for. But when the Earle was come to my Lord, he was brought incontinent unto him in his Gallery. After whose meeting my Lord Cardinall and he were in secret communication a long space. And after their long talke, and drinking of a cup of wine, the Earle departed. And in going his way, he

he sat down at the Galleries ende in the halfe place upon a forme that was standing there for the wayters ease. And being there set called his sonne unto him, we standing before him, and said thus in effecte unto him. "Sonne," quoth he, "even as thou art, and allwaies hast bin a proude licentious disdainfull and a very unthrifty waster, so hast thou now declared thyselfe. Wherefore what joy, what comforte, what pleasure or solace shall I conceive of thee, that thus without discretion hast misused thyselfe, having neither regard unto me thy naturall father, nor unto thy naturall soveraigne Lorde, to whom all subjectes loyall beare faithfull obedience; ne yet to the wealth of thine owne estate, but hast so unadvisedly assured thy selfe unto her, for whome thou hast purchased the King's highe displeasure, intolerable for any subject to sustaine? And but that his Grace doeth consider the lightness of thy head, and wilful qualities of thy person, his displeasure and indignation were sufficient to cast me and all my posterity into utter ruine and destruction, But he being my singular good and favorable Prince, and my Lord Cardinall my good Lord, hath and doeth clearely excuse me in thy leaud fact, and doeth rather lament thy lightness, than maligne me for the same; and hath devised an order to be taken for thee; to whome bothe thou and I be more bound than we be able well to consider. I pray to God that this may be unto thee a sufficient admonition to use thy selfe more wisely hereafter; for that I assure thee, if thou doest not amend thy prodegallity, thou wilt be the last Earle of our house. For of thy naturall inclination thou art disposed to be wastefull and prodigall, and to consume all that thy progenitors have with great travaile gathered and kept together with honor. But having the King's

King's majesty my singular good and gracious Lord, I trust, I assure thee, so to order my succession, that ye shall consume thereof but a little. For I doe not entend, I tell the truth, to make thee mine heire; for, thanks be to God, I have more boies, that I trust will prove much better, and use themselves more like unto wise and honest men; of whome I will chuse the most likely to succede me. Nowe good Masters and Gentlemen," (quoth he unto us), "it may be your chaunces hereafter, when I am deade, to see these things that I have spoken to my sonne prove as true as I spake them. Yet in the meane season, I desire you all to be his friends, and to tell him his fault, when he doeth amisse, wherein you shall shew yourselves friendly unto him. And here" (quoth he), "I take my leave of you. And Sonne, go your waies in to my Lorde your Master, and attend upon him, according to thy duty." And so he departed, and went his waye downe the hall into his barge.

Then after long consultation and debating in this the Lord Percies late assurance, it was devised that the same should be infringed, and dissolved, and that the Lord Piercy should marry one of the Earle of Shrewsburies daughters. And so he did indeede after all this; by meanes whereof the former contract was dissolved; wherewith Mistress Anne Bulleine was greatly offended, promising if it ever lay in her power, she would worke much displeasure to the Cardinall; as after she did in deede. And yet was he not in blame altogether; for he did nothing but by the Kings devised commaundement. And even as my Lord Piercy was commanded to avoide her company, so she was discharged of the Courte, and sent home to her father for a season; whereat she smoked: for all this while she knew nothing of the Kings entended purpose.

But

But ye may see, when fortune beginneth to lower, how she can compasse a matter of displeasure by a faire fetche. For nowe, marke the grudge howe it began, that in processe of time wrought the Cardinalls undoing. O Lorde, what a God art thou! that workest thy secrets so wonderfully, that they be not perceived till they be brought to passe and finished. Marke this story following, good Reader, and note every circumstance, and then shalt thou espy at thine eye a wonderfull worke of God, against such persons as forget God and his great benefits! Mark therefore, I say, and consider them well!

After these my Lord Percies troblesome matters brought unto a good stay, and all things done that before were devised, Mistress Anne Bulleine was revoked unto the Court, whereas she florished after in great estimation and favour; having allwaies a privy grudge against my Lord Cardinall, for breaking of the contract made betweene my Lord Peircy and her, supposing that it had bin his devised will and none other, nor yet knowing the Kings secret mind thoroughly, who had a great affection unto her, more than she knewe. But after she knewe the Kings pleasure, and the bottom of his secret stomacke, then she began to looke very haughty and stoute, lacking no manner of jewells, or riche apparrel, that might be gotten for money. It was therefore judged by and bye through the Court of every man, that she being in such favor, might worke masteries with the King, and obteine any suite of him for her friend.

All this while, she being in this estimation in all places, it is no doubt but good Queene Katherine, having this Gentlewoman dayly attending upon her, both hearde by reporte, and sawe with her eyes, how it framed against her good Ladyshippe:

although she shewed neither unto Mistress Anne Bulleine, ne unto the King, any kinde or sparke of grudge or displeasure; but accepted all things in goode parte, and with wisdome and great pacience dissimuled the same, having Mistress Anne in more estimation for the Kings sake, than she was with her before, declaring her selfe to be a very perfect Grisell, as her patient actes shall hereafter more evidently to all men be declared.

The King waxed soe farre enamoured with this Gentlewoman, that he knewe not how much he might advaunce her. This perceiving the great Lordes of the Counsell, who bearing a secret grudge against my Lord Cardinall, for that they could not rule for him, as they would, in the world, because he bare all the stroake with the King, and ruled as well the great Lordes, as all other meane subjects, they tooke an occasion to invent a meane to bringe him out of the Kings estimation, and themselves into more authority of rule and governaunce. After long and secret consultation amongst themselves, howe to bring this malice towardes the Cardinall to effect, they knew right well that it was very difficile for them to doe it directly of themselves. Wherefore they perceiving the great affection and love that the King bare to Mistress Anne Bulleine, supposing in their fantasies that she should be for them an apt instrument to bring their long desired intents to passe, consulted often with her in this matter. And she having bothe a very good wit, and also an inward grudge and displeasure unto my Lord Cardinall, was allwaies agreeable to their requestes, as they were themselves. Wherefore there was no more to doe, but only to imagine any occasion to worke their malice by some presented circumstance. Then were there dayly invented among them diverse imaginations and subtle

tle devises, how the matter should be brought about. The enterprize thereof was so dangerous, that though they would fain have attempted the matter with the King, yet they durst not; for they knewe the great zeal that the King bare to the Cardinall, and also they feared the wonderful wit of the Cardinall. For this they knewe very well, that if the matter that they should propose against him were not grounded upon a just and urgent cause, the Kings favor was such towardes him, and his wit suche withall, that he would with pollicy vanquish all their purpose and travaile, and then lye in a-wait to worke them an utter destruction and eversion. They were compelled, all things considered, to forbeare the enterprize untill they might espy a more convenient time and occasion.

And yet the Cardinall, espying the great zeale that the King had conceived in this Gentlewoman, ordered himselfe to please as well the King as Her, dissimuling the matter that lay hid in his breast, and prepared great banquettes and high feastes to entertaine the Kinge and her at his owne house. And thus the world beganne to growe to wonderfull inventions, not heard of before in this realme. Love betwixt the King and this gorgeous Lady, grewe to such a perfection, that diverse imaginations were imagined, whereof I leave here to speake, untill I come to the place where I may have more occasion.

Then began a certaine grudge to breake out betweene the French King and the Duke of Bourbonne, insomuche as the Duke, being vassaile to the house of Fraunce, was compelled for the safeguard of his life to flee and forsake the country, doubting the King's malice and indignation. The Cardinall, having intelligence of the case chaunced betweene them, compassed in his head, that if the

King our Soveraigne Lord could obtain him to be his General in the warres against the French King, with whome the King our master had an occasion of warres, and considering further that the Duke of Bourbon was fled unto the Emperor, to invite him to like purpose: wherefore he having this imagination in his head thought it good to move the King in the matter. And after the King was once advertised hereof, and conceived the Cardinall's invention, he dreamed more and more in the same, untill at the last it came to a consultation amongst the Council, so that it was concluded that an embassaye should be sent to the Emperor about this matter; with whom it was concluded that the King and the Emperor should join in those warres against the French King, and that the Duke of Bourbon should be our soveraigne Lordes Champion and General in the field, who had a great nomber of good souldiours, over and besides the Emperors army which was not small; and that the King should paye unto the Duke monthly wages, both for himselfe and his retinue. In so muche as Sir John Russel, who was after made Earle of Bedforde, lay continually beyond the seas, in a secret place, both to receive money of the King, and to paye the same monthly unto the Duke. So that the Duke began the warres with the French King in his owne territory and dukedome, which the King had confided in his owne hands; it being not perfectly knowne unto the Dukes enemies, that he had any ayde of our Soveraigne Lord. And thus he wrought the French King much displeasure and trouble, in so much that the French King was constrained to prepare a puissant army, and in his own person to resist the Dukes power. And with force the King drave him to take Pavia, a strong town in Italy, with his host, for their security; whereas

whereas the King encamped him wonderously strong, intending to enclose the Duke within this Towne, that he should not issue forth. Yet notwithstanding the Duke would and did many times issue forth, and skirmishe with the King.

Nowe let us leave the King in his campe before Pavia, and retourne to the Lord Cardinall, who seemed to be more French than Imperiall. But howe it came to passe, I cannot declare unto you: but the French King lying in his campe, sent secretly into England a privy person, a very witty man, to intreat of a peace betweene the King of Fraunce, and our Soveraigne Lord. This person was named John Jokin, who was kept as secretly as might be, no man having intelligence of his repaire; for he was no French-man borne, but an Italian, a man of no great estimation in France, or knowne to be much in his master's favor, but to be a merchant-man, and for his subtil wit elected to intreat of suche embassage as the French King had given him in commission. This Jokin was secretly conveyed unto Richmond, and there remained till the Cardinall resorted thither unto him, where, after Easter term was ended, he kept his feast of Whitsontide very solemnely. In which season my Lord Cardinall caused divers times this Jokin to dine with him, who seemed to be bothe witty, and of good behavior. Thus continued this Jokin in England long after, untill at laste, as it should seeme, he had brought to passe the matter he had in commission. After this there was sent out immediately restraint unto Sir John Russell, into those partes where he made his abiding beyound the seas, that he should retaine that monthes wages still in his handes, (untill the King's pleasure were to him knowen) which should have bin paide unto the Duke of Burbon, being then with his retinue encamped

camped within the towne of Pavia; for want whereof at his day, the Duke and his men were sore dismaide, when they sawe there was not money brought, as it was wont to be. And being in so dangerous a case, and where victualls began to be scant, and very deare, they imagined many waies what should be the lett. Some sayd this, and some sayd that; so that they mistrusted nothing lesse than the very cause thereof. In so much as at the last, what for want of victualls and other necessaries, which they could not get within the towne, the souldiers and captaines began to grudge and mutter; and at the last, for lack of victualls, were like all to perish. The souldiers, being in this extremity, came before the captaine, the Duke of Burbonn, and saide, "Sir, we must be, of very force and necessity, constrained to yield us up to our enemies. And better it were for us so to doe, than to starve like dogges." When the Duke sawe their extremities, he said unto them with weeping eyes, "Sirs," quoth he, "ye are bothe valiant men and of noble heartes, who have served me here right worthily. And for your necessity, whereof I am participant, I doe not a little lament it. But I shall desire you, as ye are noble in heart and courage, so to take pacyence for a day or twaine; and if succour come not then from the King of England, as I doubt nothing that he will deceive us, I will well agree, that we shall all put ourselves and our lives into the mercy of our enemies:" wherewith they were all agreeable. And tarrying and expecting the coming of the King's money, untill the terme of two daies was past, the Duke, seeing no remedy, called his noble captaines and souldiours before him, and weeping saide, "Ye noble men and companions, I see no remedy in this necessity, but either we must yeald us unto

unto our enemies, or else famishe. And to yeald the towne and ourselves, I know well the misery of our enemies. As for my parte I passe not for their cruelties, for I knowe very well I shall suffer death most cruelly, if I come once in their hands. It is not for my selfe therefore that I doe lament; but it is for your sakes; it is for your own lives, and safeguard of your persons. For so that ye might escape the daunger of our enemies hands, I would gladly suffer death. Therefore, good companions and noble souldiors, I shall require you all, considering the dangerous misery and calamity that we stand in at this present, to sell our lives most dearely, rather than to be murdered like beastes. If ye will be agreeable, we will take upon us this night to give our enemies an assault, and by that meanes we may either escape, or else give them an overthrowe. And thus it were better to die in the field like men, than to live as prisoners in captivity and misery." To the which they all agreed. Then quoth the Duke, "Ye perceive that our enemies campe is stronge, and that there is no way to enter upon them but one, and that entery is so planted with great ordinance, and strength of men, that it is not possible to attaine to our enemies that way to fight with them in their campe. And also, now of late ye perceive they have had but small doubt of us, insomuch that they have kept but very slender watch. Therefore my device shall be this. There shall issue out of the towne, about the dead time of the night, from us a nomber of you that be of the most likeliest to assault their campe; and they shall give the assault right secretly, even directly against the place of the entry, which is very stronge and invincible. Your force and valiant assault shall be to them of the campe so doubtfull, that they will torne their strength

strength of the entry that lyeth over against your assault, to beate you from your purpose. Then will I issue out of the posterne gate, and come to the place of their strength newly turned, and there, or they be ware, will I entêr and fight with them in their campe, and winne their ordinance, which, they have newly turned, and beat them with their own pieces. And then may you come and joine with me in the field." This device pleased them wondrously well. Then prepared they all that day for the purposed device, and kept them secret and close, without any noise or shot of pieces in the towne, which gave their enemies the lesse feare of the assault, but at night went to their tentes, and couched quietly, nothing mistrusting that which after happened to them.

When the time came that all men were at rest, the assailants issued out of the towne, and there, according to their appointment, they gave so cruel and fierce assault, that they in the campe had as much to doe as was possible to resist them; and even as the duke declared before to his souldiers, they within were compelled to turne their shot, that lay at the entry, against the assailants. With that issued out the duke, and with him about fifteen or sixteen thousand men or more, secretly in the night, his enemies being not privy of his coming untill he was entered the field. And at his entry he took all the ordinance that lay there, and slew the gunners. Then he charged the pieces against his enemies, and slew them wonderfully. He cut down the tents and pavilions, and murdered many within them, or they were ware of his coming, suspecting nothing lesse than his entry; so that he won the field or ever the king could arise to the rescue; insomuch as the king was taken in his lodging or ever he was harnessed. And

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when the duke had obtained the field, and the French king was taken, and his men slaine, his tents were robbed and spoiled, which were wonderous riche. And in the spoile, and search of the king's coffers, the duke Bourbonn found the league, under the great seale of England, newly made betweene the king of England and the French king: which once perceived by him, he began to smell the impediment of his money, which should have come to him from the king. Having upon the due search of the matter further intelligence, that all the matter was devised by the cardinall of England, the duke conceived such an indignation hereupon against the cardinall, that he went incontinent unto Rome, and there intended to sack the towne, and to have taken the pope: where, at the first assault of the walles, the duke was the first man that was there slaine. Yet notwithstanding, his captaines continued their assault, and at the last the towne was taken, and the pope fled unto the castle of Angell, where he continued long in calamity.

I have written this history more at large, because it was thought the cardinall was the chiefest occasion of all this mischief. Wherefore ye may perceive that whatsoever a man doeth purpose, be he prince or prelate, yet notwithstanding God disposeth all things at his will and pleasure. Wherefore it is great folly for any wise man to take upon him any weighty enterprize at his owne wit, without calling upon God for his grace and assurance in all his doings and proceedings.

I have seen that princes when they would either call a parliament, or any other great assembly, that they would first most reverently call to God for his grace therein. And now I see the contrary.

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As it seems they trust more to their owne wit and will, than they doe to God's grace, and even thereafter doe their matters often times take successe; whereof not only in this history, but also in divers others may be perceived right evident examples. And yet I see no man almost in authority or high estate regarde the same; the which is the greater pity, and the more to be lamented. Nowe here I leave to shewe any more of this matter, and will procede to others.

Upon the taking of the French king many consultations and divers opinions were then devised among the council. Some held opinion that if the king our sovareigne lorde would invade the realme of France, he might easily conquer the same, insomuch as the king with the most part of the nobility of Fraunce were in captivity. Some sayd againe that the king our master ought to have had the French king prisoner, for as much as he was taken by the kings champion and generall captaine the duke of Burbonn, and not the emperor. So that the same moved the king to take an occasion of war against the emperor, because he kept the French king out of his possession, with divers other imaginations and devices, even as their fantasies served them, which were too long here to be rehearsed: but I leave it to the Chroniclers that write stories.

Thus were they in long consultations, whereof every man in the courte had talked as their fantasies served them; untill at the last it was devised, by meanes of divers ambassadors sent from the realmes of Fraunce unto the king our soveraigne lord, to take order with the emperor for the French kings deliverance, as his high wisdome could think best, wherein my lord cardinall bare a great stroke; so that after longe deliberation and advice taken

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in this matter, it was thought good by my lord cardinall, that the emperor should deliver the French king out of his warde upon sufficient pledges. Then was it, upon his advice, thought meete that the kings two sonnes, that is to say, the Dolphin and the duke Orleance, should be delivered in hostage for the king their father; which was in conclusion brought to passe.

After the kings delivery out of the emperors bondage, and his sonnes received in hostage for the emperors and the kings our soveraigne lordes security of all such demaunds and requestes as should be demaunded of the French king, as well by the emperor, as our soveraigne lorde, the cardinall, lamenting the French kings calamity, and the popes great adversity, who yet remained in the castle Angell, either as a prisoner or else for his defence against his enemies, travailed all that he could [2] with the king and his council to take some order for the quietness of them bothe. At laste, as ye have hearde here before, how divers of the great estates and lordes of the council, with my lady Anne lay but in a-wait to espy a convenient time and occasion to take the cardinall in a brake, they thought it now a necessary time to cause him

[2] *Travailed all that he could.*] These intrigues, in which the cardinal bore so large a part, did not redound to the glory of his country. Our merry neighbours even then had begun to make our diplomatic inferiority the subject of their sport and ridicule. William Tindall, in his *Practice of popish Prelates*, referring to these events, tells us, "The Frenchmen of late dayes made a play or a disguising at Paris, in which the emperour daunsed with the pope and the French king, and weried them, the king of England sitting on a hye bench, and looking on. And when it was asked, why he daunsed not, it was answered, that he sate there, *but to pay the minstrels their wages onely*: as who should say, wee paid for all mens dauncing." Tindall's *Works*, p. 375. A. D. 1572.

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to take upon him the kings commission to travell beyond the seas in this matter, and by his high wit to compasse a perfect peace among these great princes and potentates; and encouraging him thereunto alleged, that it was more meete for his high wit, discretion and authority, to bring so weighty a matter to passe, than any other man within this realme. Their intent was none other but, if they might, to get him from the king out of the realme; then might they sufficiently adventure, by the help of their chief mistress, to deprave him unto the kings highness, and so in his absence to bring him in displeasure with the king, or at the least to be of lesse estimation. Well! what will you have more? This matter was so handled that the cardinall was commanded to prepare himselfe to this journey; which he toke upon him; but whether it were with his good will or no, I am not able well to tell you. But this I knowe, that he made a short abode, after the perfect resolution thereof, but caused all things to be prepared onward toward his journey. And every one of his servants were appointed that should attend upon him in the same.

When all things were concluded, and for this noble ambassage provided and furnished, then was there no more to doe but avaunce forwardes in the name of God. My lord had with him such of the lordes and bishoppes and other worthy persons as were not of the counsel or conspiracy.

Then marched he forwarde from his owne house at Westminster through all London, over London Bridge, having before him a great number of gentlemen, three in a rank, with velvet coates, and the most part of them with great chaines of gold about their neckes. And all his yeomen followed him, with noblemens and gentlemens servaunts, all

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in orange tawny coates, with the cardinalls hat, and a T and a C, for Thomas Cardinall, imbrodered upon all the coates, as well of his owne servaunte, as all the rest of his gentlemens servaunte: and his sumpter mules, which were twentie or more in number. And when all his carriages and cartes and other of his traine were passed before, he rode like a cardinall very sumptuously with the rest of his traine, on his owne mule, with his spare mule and spare horse, trapped in crimson, velvet upon velvet, and gilt stirrops, following him. And before him he had his two great crosses of silver, his two great pillars of silver, the kings broad seale of England, and his cardinalls hat, and a gentleman carrying his *valence* (otherwise called his cloak bag) which was made of fine scarlet, altogether embrodered very richly with gold, having in it a cloake. Thus passed he forth through London, as I said before; and everie day on his journey he was thus furnished, having his harbingers in every place before, which prepared lodging for him and his traine.

The first journey that he made was two miles beyond Dartford in Kent, unto sir Richard Wilshires house; and the rest of his traine were lodged at Dartford, and in the country thereabouts. The next day he marched to Rochester, where he was lodged in the bishoppes pallace, and the rest of his traine were lodged in the citty, and in Stroud on this side of the bridge. The third day he rode from thence to Feversham, and there was lodged in the abbey, and his traine in the towne there, and some in the country there abouts. The fourth day he rode to Canterbury, where he was encountred with the worshipful of the towne, and country, and lodged in the abbey of Christ-churche in the Priors lodging. And all his traine were

lodged

lodged in the city, where he continued three or foure daies; in which season there was the jubilee, and a great faire in the towne, by the reason it was the feast of St. Thomas their patron. At which very day in the same abbey there was a solemne procession, wherein my lord cardinall then went, apparelled in his legantine ornaments with his hat upon his head; who commanded the monkes and the quier to sing the litany after this sort, *Sancta Maria ora pro papa nostro Clemente*, and in this manner perused the litany throughe, my lord cardinall kneeling at a stool before the quier dore, prepared for him with carpets and qusshions. All the while the monks and their quier stoode in the body of the churche singing this litany. At which time I sawe my lord cardinall weepe tenderly, which as I and other tooke it, was for the heaviness to see the pope in such calamity and danger of the Launce Knightes.

The next day I was sent with letters from my lord cardinall unto Callice in post, insomuch as I was that same night at Callice. And at my arrival I found standing upon the piere, without the lanterne gate, all the council of the towne, to whom I declared my message, and delivered my letters or I entered the towne, where I lay till my lord came there, who arrived in the haven two daies after my coming, before eight of the clocke in the morning; who was received with all the noble officers and council of the towne, the mayor of the towne, and the mayor of the staple in procession, the clerkes being in rich copes, and having many riche crosses. And in the Lanterne gate a stool with carpets and qusshions was set for him, whereat he kneeled, and made his praiers. All which time they censed him with great censers of silver, and sprinkled holy water. That done they passed

on before him in procession untill he came to St. Maries churche, where at the high altar, tourning him to the people, he gave them benediction, and pardon. And then he repaired with a great nomber of noblemen and gentlemen, being peeres of the towne, unto a place called the Checquor, where he lay after and kept his house, as long as he abode in the towne; going immediately to his naked bed, because he was somewhat troubled with sickness upon his passage upon the seas.

That night unto this place called he unto him Mons. de Bees, capitaine then of Bullen, with a number of other gallant gentlemen, who dined with him; and after some consultation with my lord cardinall, he with the rest of the gentlemen departed againe to Bullen. Thus my lord was daily visited with one or other of the French nobility.

Then when all his traine and his carryage was landed, and every thing prepared for his journey, his grace called all his noblemen and gentlemen, being servants, unto him into his privy chamber; where they being all assembled before him, he saide: "I have called you hither to the intent to declare unto you, that I consider the duty ye bear unto me, and the good will that I semblably beare unto you for the same, seeing your intendment to further the authority that I have by commission; which your diligent service I will hereafter remember, and therefore I meane to declare the same directly unto the king; *secondly*, to shew you the nature of the French men; and *thirdly*, to shewe you how, and with what reverence, ye shall use me for the high honor of the kings majesty, and then, to inform you howe ye shall entertaine and accompany the French men, when ye shall meet at any time. To the *first* point, ye shall understand that

that the kings majestie, for certaine weighty affairs of his graces, hath for more advaunce ment of his royal dignity, assigned me to be in this journey his lieutenant; and what reverence belongeth to the same I will tell you. For my parte I must, by virtue of my commision and of lieutenantship, assume and take upon me, to be esteemed in all honors and degrees of service, as to his highness' presence is meete and due; and that by me nothing be neglected, that to his royal estate is due and appurtenant. And for my parte ye shall see, that I will not omit one jot thereof. Therefore, because that ye should not be ignorant of your duty in this case, is one of the chief causes of this your assembly, willing you as you will have my favor, and also charging you all in the kings name, that ye doe not forget the same in time and place, but that every one of you do observe your duty to mee accordingly, as ye will at your returne avoide the kings indignation, or obtaine and deserve his highness' thanks, the which I will set forth, as each of you shall deserve.

"Nowe to the *second* pointe: The nature of Frenchmen is suche, that at the first meeting they will be as familiar with you, as they had bine acquainted with you long before, and common with you in their French tongue, as though you understoode every worde; therefore use them in like manner, and be as familiar with them as they be with you. If they speake in their naturall tongue, speake you againe to them in the Englishe tongue, for if you understande not them no more shall they understande you." And speaking merrily to one of the gentlemen there, being a Welshman, he saide, "Richie," quoth he, "speake thou Welche to him, and I doubt not but thy speache shall be

more diffuse [3] to him than his Frenche shall be to thee, and thus," quoth he againe to us all, "let all your enterteinement and behaviour be according to the order of all gentleness and humanity, that ye may be reported, after our departure from hence, that ye be gentlemen of right good behaviour, and of much gentleness, and that ye are men who knowe the duties to your soveraigne lorde, and to your master, esteeming much your great reverence. Thus shall ye not only obtaine to yourselves great commendation and praise for the same, but also advaunce the honor of your prince and country.

"Nowe goe your waies being admonished of all these pointes, and prepare yourselves against tomorrow, for then we intend, God willing, to set forward." And we his servauntes, being thus by him instructed and informed, departed every man to his lodging, making against the next day all things in a readinesse to avaunce forward with my lord cardinall.

The next morning, being Mary Magdalens day, all things furnished, my lord cardinall advaunced out of Callaise with such a number of black velvet coates as hath bin seldom sene with an ambassador. All the peeres of Calaise and Guines, with all other gentlemen, besides his traine, being gar-ed in black velvet coates and chaines of old.

Thus passed he forward with his traine of gentlemen before him three in a ranke, which by supposall endured three quarters of a mile or

[3] *More diffuse.*] "*Cook.* Then answere me, What sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Tell me.

"Jackson. I answered; it is a *diffuse* question, to aske me at the first dash, you promising to deliver me." Fox's *Acts*, p. 1769. See also p. 1574. "*diffuse* and *difficult*."

more in length, having his crosses, and all other his accustomed and glorious furniture carried before him, even as I have before rehearsed, except the broade seale, the which he left in Callaise with master doctor Tailor, then master of the rolles, untill his returne. Passing thus on his way, and being scantly ridden a mile, it begane to raine so vehemently, that I have not seene the like for the time; which endured untill we came to Bullen; and ere we came unto Sandingfield, the cardinall of Loraine, a goodly young gentleman, encountered my lord, and received him with great joye, and reverence, and so passed forthe with my lorde, in communication, untill we came nighe unto the saide Sandingfield, which is a place of religion standing betweene the Englishe, Frenche, and Emperor's dominions, being a neuter holding of neither of them. There awaited for him Le County Bryan, capitaine of Picardie, with a great number of Stradiates or Arbenois *, standing in aray, in a great piece of green oates all in harness, upon highe horses, passing on with my lord in a wing unto Bullen, and so after through Picardy; for my lord doubted some what the emperor that he should lay some ambushment for to betray him; for which cause the French king commanded them to attend upon my lordes grace, for the assurance of his person, to conduct him without daunger of his enemies. Thus rode he accompanied untill he came nighe Bullen, within an English mile, where encountered him the worshipfullest citizens of the towne of Bullen, having a

* *Stradiates or Arbenois.*] *Stradiates*, from the Italian, *stradiotto* (Στρατιώτης), a hired soldier; a Greek mercenary.

Arbenois is the reading of both MSS. as Arbenoyes is of the York MS.; but the word, most probably, should be Albanois, *Albanians*.

learned

learned man, that made before him an oration in Latine, unto the which my lord semblably made an answer. And that done monsieur de Bees, capitaine of Bullen, with the retinue thereof gentlemen met with him on horseback; and then with all his assembly he rode into the towne, lighting at the abbey gate, and from thence he was conveied with procession streight into the abbey church there, and offered unto the image of our Lady, most commonly called our Lady of Bullen, where was allwaies great offering. And that done he gave thence his blessing to the people, with certaine daies of pardon[5]. Then went he into the abbey to his lodging, and all his traine were lodged within the highe and base townes.

The next morning, after he had heard masse, he rode unto *Muterell sur la mer*, where he was in like case encountered with the worshipful of the towne, all in one like livery, having a learned man to make an oration unto him in Latine, whom he answered also againe in Latine; and as he

[5] *With certaine daies of pardon.*] In like manner, we saw, a little above, that at Calais he gave "benediction and pardon." From a letter to the cardinal, from Humfrey Monmouth, confined in the Tower on suspicion of heresy, we may gather what notion was entertained, even by comparatively inlightened men, of the efficacy of these pardons. "If I had broken most part of the Ten Commandments of God, being penitent and confessed (I should be forgiven) by reason of certain pardons that I have, the which my company and I had graunted, whan we were at Rome, going to Jerusalem, of the holy father the pope, *a poena et a culpa*, for certain times in the year: and that, I trust in God, I received at Easter last past. Furthermore I received, when your grace was last at Pawles, I trust in God, your pardon of *a poena et a culpa*; the which I believe verily, if I had done never so great offences, being penitent and confessed, and axing forgiveness, that I should have forgiveness." Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memor.* vol. i. p. 248. Appendix. The cardinal had also a bull granted by Pope Leo Xth. A.D. 1518. to give in certain cases and conditions plenary remission from all sins. Fiddes, p. 48. Appendix.

entered in at the gate, there was a canopy made ready of silke embroidered with like letters and hat, even as his men had on their coates. And when that he was lighted his footemen had the same as a fee due to their office. Nowe was there made divers pageauntes for joy of his comming, who was called in the French tongue there, and in all other places through the realme, where he rode or came *Le Cardinall Pacifick*, and in Latine *Cardinalis Pacificus*, who was accompanied all that night with the gentlemen of the country there abouts.

The next day he tooke his journey towards Abbeville, where he was encountered with diverse gentlemen of the towne and country, and so conveied unto the towne, where he was most honorably received with pageantes of diverse kindes wittely and costly conveied at every turning of the streetes as he rode through the towne, having a like canopy borne over him, being of more richer sorte than the other was of Mutterell; and so brought him to his lodging, which was, as it seemed to be, a very fair house newly built with brick, and within was all in manner of galleries, notwithstanding it was faire and necessary. At which house the French kinge Lewis, was married to the kings sister, which was after married to the Duke of Suffolk. In this towne of Abbeville he remained more than eight or nine daies, where resorted unto him daily diverse of the French kings counsell, sitting with him in counsell every day, and continually feasting them, and others of the lordes and gentlemen highely, both at dinners and suppers.

Then when the time came of his departing out of the towne, he rode to a castle beyond the waters of Some, called the *Chonnel de Picgeny*, standing and

and adjoyning unto the saide water, upon a greate hille and rocke, within the which there was a colledge of priestes; the situation whereof was much like unto the castle of Windsor in England; and there he was received with a solemn procession, conveying him first into the church, and after into the castell to his lodging. At this castell sometime upon the bridge that goes over this water of Somme, King Edward the fourthe met with the French kinge, as ye may read at large in the chronicles of England.

When my Lorde was settled in his lodging, I heard that the French king should come that day into Amiens, which was not past six English miles from thence; and being desirous to see his comming thither, I toke with me one or two of my Lordes gentlemen, and rode thither incontinent, as well to furnish me with a convenient lodging, as to see the kinge. And when we came thither, being but strangers, we tooke up our inne at the signe of the Angell, directly against the west door of the cathedrall church *de notre Dame*. After we had dined there, and tarried untill three or four of the clock, expecting the king's coming, in came the dame regent, the king's mother, riding in a very riche chariot; and with her therein was the Queen of Navarre her daughter, furnished with a hundred and more of ladies and gentlewomen following, every one riding upon white palfreies; besides diverse and many ladies, some in riche horse litters, and some in chariots, who lighted at the next dore with all her traine of ladies and gentlewomen, besides her garde, which was not small in number. Then, within two houres after, the kinge came in with a great shot of gunnes and diverse pageants, made only for joye of his coming; having about his person and before him, besides the wonderfull number

number of noblemen and gentlemen, three great guardes apparailed diversely. The *first* was of Switzers and Burgonians with gunnes. The *second* was of Frenchmen, some with bowes and arrows, and some with billes. The *third* guarde *pour le corps*, was of talle Scots, which were more comelier persons than all the rest. The French guard, and the guard of the Scots had one livery, being apparailed with rich coates of white cloth, guarded with a rich guard of silver bullion of an handful broade. The king came riding on a goodly genet, and lighted at the saide great church, and so was conveied with procession into the bishopps pallace, where he was lodged, and also his mother.

The next morning I rode againe to Pickeney to attend upon my Lorde, at which time of my resorte my Lorde was ready to go to horseback towards Amiens; and passing on his way, he was encountered with diverse noble personnages, making unto him diverse orations in Latine, to whome he made answer againe *extempore*, which was very much. Then was worde brought him, that the kinge was coming to incounter him; wherefore he had none other shifte but to light at an old chappell, that stoode hard by the highe way, and there he new apparailed himselfe into richer apparaille, and so mounted againe upon a new mule very richly trapped, with a foote cloathe altogether of crimson velvet, purled with gold, and fringed about the edges with gold fringe very costly, his stirroups of silver and gilt, the bosses of the same, and the checkes of his mule's bit were all gilt with fine gold. And by that time that he was thus mounted againe after this gorgeous sorte, the kinge was come very near, within lesse than a quarter of an English mile, mustering upon an hill, his guarde standing in array upon the top of the same hill,

expect-

expecting my Lorde's coming; to whome my Lorde made as much haste as he conveniently might, untill he came within a paire of butt lengthes, and there staied. The kinge perceiving that, having two worthy young gentlemen with him, the one called Monsieur Vadamont, and the other Monsieur de Guise, bothe bretheren to the Cardinall of Loraine, and to the Duke of Lorain also, being like apparailed as the king was, in purple velvet lined with cloth of silver, their coates cut, the king caused Monsieur Vadamont to issue from him, and ride to my Lorde Cardinall, to knowe the cause of his tarrying. And this monsieur, being mounted upon a faire great genet, tooke his race with his horse, untill he came even to my Lorde; and there caused his horse to come aloft twise or thrise, so nighe my Lorde's mule, that he was in doubt of his horse; and with that he alighted, and doing humble reverence, did his message to my Lorde; and that done, he mounted againe, and made his horse to doe the same at his departing as before he did at his comming, and soe repaired againe unto the king; and his aunswer ended to the king, the king advanced forwardes. That seeing my Lorde did the like, and in the mid way they met, embracing each other with amiable countenaunce and entertainement. Then drewe into the place all noblemen and gentlemen on bothe parties, with wonderful cheere made one to another, as though they had bine of an old acquaintance. The prease was such and so thicke, that divers had their legges hurt with horses. Then the king's officers cried, "*Marche, marche, devaunt, allez devaunt.*" And the king, and my Lord Cardinall on his right hand, rode forthe towardes Amiens, every Englishe gentleman accompanied with an other of France. The traine of these two

princes endured two longe English miles, that is to say from the place of their encountry unto Amiens; where as they were very nobly received with shot of gunes and costly pageantes, untill the king had brought my Lord to his lodging, and then departed for that night, the king being lodged in the bishoppes palace. And the next day after dinner, my Lord rode with a great traine of English gentlemen and noblemen unto the courte to the king, at which time the king kept his bed, yet nevertheless my Lord came into his bed chamber, where on the one side of his bed sate the king's mother, and on the other side the Cardinall of Loraine, accompanied with divers other gentlemen and noblemen of France. And after a short communication, and drinking of a cup of wine with the king's mother, my Lorde departed, and retourned againe to his owne lodging, accompanied with diverse gentlemen and noblemen, where they supped with him. Thus continued my Lorde and the king in Amiens for the space of two weekes and more consulting, and feasting each other diverse times. In Amiens then was the king and my Lorde at masse the which received bothe the sacrament. And upon our Ladies day the Assumption, my Lorde saide masse before the Regent and the Queen of Navarre, and gave them the sacrament. And there the king dressed a number of sicke folkes.

Then it was determined that the king and my Lorde should remove, and so they did, to a towne or citty called Campaigne, which was more than twenty English miles from Amiens; unto the which towne I was sent to prepare my Lord's lodging. And as I rode on my journey, being a Friday, my horse cast a shoe in a little village, where stode a faire castell. And as it chaunced there dwelt a smithe, to whome I commanded my servant to resorte,

resorte, to shoe my horse, and standing bye while my horse was a shoeing, there came to me a servant of the castell, perceiving me to be an Englishman and one of my Lorde Legates servauntes (as they then called my Lorde), requiring me to goe into the castell to my Lorde his master, who he thought would be very glad of my company. To whom I consented, because I was alwaies desirous to see and to be acquainted with strangers, and in especiali with men in authority, and of honourable estate, soe I went with him; who conducted me into the castell, and, at my first entry, I was among the watch men that kept the first warde, being very tall men and comely persons. They saluted me very reverently, and knowing the cause of my comming, desired me to stay myselfe untill they had advertised my Lorde their master; and soe I did. And incontinent the Lorde of the castell came out unto me, who was called Monsieur Croky, a nobleman born, and nighe of King Lewis's bloud, which was the last king before King Fraunces that then reigned. And at his coming he embraced me, saying that I was right hartely welcome, and thanked me that I so gently would visit him and his castell, saying unto me that he was preparing him to encounter the king and my Lord, to desire them the next day to come to his castell, if he could so intreat them. And in-deede he was in his riding coate of black velvet with a paire of of ermine shoes of black velvet on his feete, with a pair of gilt spurres, ready to ride. Then tooke he me by the hand, and most gently led me into his castell, through an other warde. And being once entered within the castle, within a base courte. I sawe all his family and servauntes in goodly order, all in black gownes and coates like mourners, who led me into his hall which was hanged with hall hookes upon the walles, as thicke as one could hange

hange by an other; and in the hall stode an hawkes pearche with three or four faire goss hawkes thereon. Then we entered into a faire parlour which was hanged with faire clothes of fine old arras, and being there but a while, communing together of my lord of Suffolk, how he was there to have besieged the same, his servauntes brought in unto him bread and wine of diverse sortes. And after we had drunken of the same, "I will" quoth he, "shewe you the strength of my house, how hard it would have been for my Lorde of Suffolk to have won it." Then led he me upon the walles which were marvaillous stronge, more than fourteen foote broade of my feete, and well garnished with great battering pieces of ordenaunce ready charged to be shot off against the king and my Lord their comming by, if they would not enter, whose way was laid by the castle.

When he had shewed me all the walles and bullwarkes about the castle, he descended from the walles, and came down into a faire inwarde courte, where his genet stode ready for him to mount upon, with twelve other of the fairest genets that ever I sawe, and in especial his owne, which was a mare genet, he shewed me that he might have had for it four thousand crownes, to the which I made no aunswer. But upon the other twelve genets were mounted twelve goodly young gentlemen, called Pages of honour: they rode all bare headed in coates of cloth of gold, and black velvet *paned*, and on their legges bootes of red Spanish lether, and spurres parcell gilt.

Then he tooke his leave of mee, and commanded his steward and other of his gentlemen to attend upon me, and conduct me unto my Lady his wife, to dinner. And that done he mounted upon his genet, and tooke his journey forth of his castle.

Then

Then the steward, with the rest of his gentlemen, lead me up to one of the gate houses, where then my Lady their mistress was lodged, for the time that the king and my Lord should tarry there.

And I being there tarrying a while, my Lady Madame Crokey issued out of her chamber into her dining chamber, where I attended her comming, who received me very gently like her noble estate, having a traine of twelve gentlewomen. And when she and her traine was come all out, she saide unto me, "For as much," quoth she, "as ye be an Englishman, whose custome is to kisse[6] all ladies and gentlemen in your country without offense, although it is not soe here with us in this realme, yet I will be so bould as kisse you, and so ye shall doe all my maides." By meanes whereof I kissed her and all her maides. Then went she to her dinner, being as nobly served as I have seene here any in England, having all the dinner time pleasant communication of the usage of our ladies and

[6] *Whose custom is to kisse.*] "Quanquam si Britanniæ dotes satis pernosses Fauste, næ tu alatis pedibus huc accurreres; et si podagra tua non sineret, Dædalum te fieri optares. Nam ut e pluribus unum quiddam attingam. Sunt hic nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, et quas tu tuis Camænis facile anteponas. *Est præterea mos nunquam satis laudatus:* Sive quo venias omnium osculis exciperis; sive discedas aliquo, osculis demitteris: redis? redduntur suavia: venitur ad te? propinantur suavia: disceditur abs te? dividuntur basia: occuritur alicubi? basiatur affatim: denique, quocunque te moveas, suaviorum plena sunt omnia. Quæ si tu Fauste, gustasses semel quam sint mollicula, quem fragrantia, profecto cuperes non decennium solum, ut Solon fecit, sed ad mortem usque in Anglia peregrinari." Erasmi *Epistol.* p. 315. edit. 1642. "It becometh nat therefore the persones religious to folowe *the maner of secular persones*, that in theyr congresses and commune metyngs or departyng done use to kysse, take hands, or such other touchings, that good religious persones shulde utterly avoyde." Whytford's *Pype of Perfection.* fol. 213. b. A. D. 1532.

noble-

noblemen of England, and commended the behaviour of them right excellently; for she was with the king at Arde, when the great encounter was between the French king and the king our soveraigne Lorde: At which time she was, bothe for her person and goodly behaviour, appointed to keepe company with the ladies of this realme. To be short, after dinner pausing a little, I tooke my leave, and so departed on my journey; and by reason of my tracting of time in castle Crokey, I was constrained that night to lye in a walled towne called *Mondedri*, and in Latine *Mons desiderii*, the suburbs whereof my saide Lorde of Suffolk had lately burned.

And earely in the morning I rode to Campaigne, being Satterday, and market day; where at my first comming I toke up my inne against the middest of the market place, and being set at dinner in a faire chamber, that loked into the streete, I heard a great rumour and clattering of billes. With that I loked out of the windowes, and espied where the officers of the towne brought a prisonner to execution, and with a sworde stroke off his head. And when I demaunded, what his offense was, it was answered me, that it was for killing of a red deare in the forest thereby. And incontinent they had set up the poore man's heade upon a pole in the market place, between the Stag's Hornes; and his quarters in foure partes of the forest.

Then went I about to prepare my Lorde's lodging, and to see it furnished, which was in the great castle of the towne, whereof my Lord had the one halfe assigned him for his lodging, and the king the other halfe; and in likewise they divided a long gallery between them, where was made in the middest thereof a stronge wall with a windowe and

and a dore. The kinge and my Lorde would many times meet at the same windowe and talke, and diverse times would goe in the one to the other, at the said dore.

Nowe in this castle there was lodged Madame Regent, the king's mother, and all her ladies and gentlewomen. Then came there to my Lorde the Chauncellor of France, a very witty man, with all the king's grave counsellors, where they toke great paines dayly in consultation. In so much that I heard and sawe my Lord fall out with the Chauncellor of France, laying to his charge, that he went about to hinder the league, which was, before his comming, concluded betweene the king our soveraigne Lord and the French king his master; insomuch that my Lord stomached him stoutly, and tould him, "That it should not lie in his power to infringe the amiable friendship. And if the king his master, being there present, would followe his counsell, he shall not faile shortly after his returne, but feele the smarte, what it is to mainetaine warre against the king of England, and thereof ye shall well be assured." Soe that his stout countenance, and bould wordes made them all in doubt how to quiet him, and revoke him againe to the counsell, who was then departed in great fury. There was sending, there was coming, there was intreating, and there was great submission, and intercession made unto him, to reduce him to his former communication and conclusion; who would in no wise relent, untill Madame Regent came to him herselfe, who handled the matter in such wise, that she brought him againe to his former estate of communication. And by that meanes he brought other things to passe, that before he could not obtaine, which was more for feare,

feare, than for any affection to the matter, he had the heades of the counsell so under his girdle.

The next morning after this conflict, he rose earely about the foure of the clocke, and sat him downe to write letters into Englande unto the kinge, commanding one of his chaplains to prepare him ready to masse, insomuch that the chaplaine stode ready in his vestures, untill foure of the clocke, at afternoone; all which season my Lorde never rose, neither to make water, nor yet to eat any meate, but continually wrote letters, with his owne hand, having all that time, his night cap, and his chercheif or his head. And about the houre of foure of the clocke, at afternoone, he made an end of writinge, commanding Christopher Gunner, the king's servaunt, to prepare him without delay to ride post into England with his letters, whom he dispatched away or ever he dranke. And that done, he went to masse, and said his mattins and other devotions with his chaplaine, as he was accoustomed to doe; and then went straight a walking in a garden; and after he had walked the space of an houre or more, and said evensong, then went he bothe to dinner and supper all at once. And after supper, making but small tarrying, scant an houre, he went to his bed, there to take his rest for that night.

The next night following my Lord caused a great supper to be made for Madame Regent, and for the Queen of Navarre, and other great estates of ladies and noble women.

There was also Madame Reine, one of the daughters of King Lewis, the last king, whose sister, lately dead, King Frauncis had married. These two sisters were, by their mother, inheritors of the dutchy of Britaine, and for as much as the king had married one of the sisters, by whome he had

had the one moitie of the said dutchy, to attaine to the other moiety, he kept the saide Madame Reyne, the other sister, without marriage, to the intent the whole duchy might discend unto him, or his successors, after her death, for lack of issue of her.

But now let us return to the supper or rather banquet, where all these noble personages were highly feasted; and at the middest of the saide banquet, the king with the king of Navarre, came sodeinly in upon them, unlooked for, who toke their places in the lowest parte thereof. There was not only plenty of fine meates, but also much mirth with solace, as well in merry communication, as with the noise of my Lord's minstrells, who plaied there all that night soe cunningly, that the king took therein great pleasure, insomuche as he desired my Lorde to lend them unto him for the next nighte. And after supper, their banquet finished, the ladies and gentlemen fell to dauncing; among whom one Madame Fountaine, a maide, had the prize. And thus passed they the most parte of the night ere they departed.

The next day the king toke my Lord's minstrells and rode to a nobleman's house, where was some live image to whome he vowed a night's pilgrimage, to perform his devotion. When he came there, which was in the night, he daunced, and caused others to doe the same, after the sound of my Lord's minstrells, who plaied there all night, and never rested, soe that, whether it were with extreme labour of blowing, or with poisonning, as some judged, because they were more commended by the king than his owne, or of what other mischaunce, I cannot tell, but the plaier on the shalme, who was very excellent in that kind of instrument, died within a day or two after.

Then

Then the king retourned unto Campaigne, and caused a wild boar to be lodged for him in the forrest of Campaigne; and thither my Lorde rode with him, to see him hunt the wild swine; where my Lady Regent, with a number of ladies and damoselles, were standing in chariots, loking on the toile, on the out side, which was pitched there for that purpose; among whome stoode my Lorde Cardinall, to regarde the hunting, in Madame Regent's chariot. And within the toile was the king with diverse minion gentlemen of Fraunce, ready furnished to this high and dangerous enterprize, of the hunting of the perrilous wild swine. The king being in his dublet and hosen, all of sheepe's colour clothe, his hosen, from the knee upwarde, were thrummed very thicke with silke of the same colour; having in his slip a brace of great white greyhoundes, who were armed, as the manner is there, to defend them from the violence of the swines tuskes. And the rest of the king's gentlemen, being appointed to hunt this bore, were likewise in their dubblettes and hosen, holding eache of them in their handes a very sharpe boare speare.

Then the king commanded the kepers to uncouch the boare, and that every other person within the toile should goe to a standing, among whom were divers gentlemen and yeomen of England; and incontinent the boare issued out of his denne, and, followed with an hound, came into the plaine, where being staied a while, and gasing upon the people, and incontinent pursued by the hound, he spied a little bushe standing upon a banke over a ditche, under the which lay two French gentlemen, and thither fled, trusting there to have defended himselfe, who thrust his head snuffing into the same bushe. These two gentlemen

men fled from thence, as men doe from the danger of death. Then was the boare by violence and pursuite of the hunters and the hounds, driven from thence, who ran straight to one of my Lorde's footmen, a very tall and comely yeoman, who had in his hands an English javelline, with the which he was faine to defend himselfe from the boare, a great while, the boare continually foining at him with his great tuskes, so that at the last he was faine to pitche his javelin in the ground betweene him and the boare, the which the boare brake with his force and foining. And with that the yeoman drewe his sworde, and stode at his defence; and with that the hunters came to the rescue, and put him once againe to flight. With that he fled to an other young gentleman of England, called Mr. Ratcliffe, who was sonne and heire to the Lord Fitzwalter, and now Earle of Sussex, who had borrowed by chaunce of a French gentleman, a very fine and sharpe boare speare, and therewith hee thrust the boare into the mouth, and soe into his throate; whereupon the sport was ended.

Now shortly after there were divers malicious practises pretended against us by the French, who by their theft somewhat impayred us: whereupon one of them, being a man I was well acquainted with, maintained a seditious untruth, openly divulged, and set forth by a subtile and traiterous subject of their realme, saying also that he doubted not, but the like had bine attempted within the king of England his Majesty's dominions; but to see so open and manifest blaspheme to be openly punished, according to their traiterous deserts, notwithstanding I sawe but small redresse. This was one of the displeasures that the Frenchmen shewed him, for all the pains and travell he toke for qualifying of the king their soveraigne Lord's ransome.

Also another displeasure was this. There was no place where he was lodged after he entered the territory of Fraunce, but that he was robbed in his privy chamber, either of little things or great; and at Campaigne he lost his standishe, which was all of silver, and gilt: and there it was espied, and the party taken, which was but a little boy of twelve or thirteen yeares of age, a ruffian's page of Paris, which haunted my Lord's lodging without any suspition, untill he was taken lying under my Lord's privy staires; upon which occasion he was apprehended, and examined, and incontinent he confessed all things that he stole, the which the ruffian his master received, maintained, and procured him soe to doe. Then after the espiall of this boy, my Lord revealed the same unto the counsell, by meanes whereof the ruffian was apprehended, and set on the pillory, in the middest of the market place; a goodly recompense for such an offense. Also another displeasure was; some lewd person, whosoever it was, had engraved in my Lord's windowe upon the leaning stone there, a Cardinall's hat with a paire of gallowes over it, in derision of my Lord; with diverse other unkinde demeanours, the which I omit here to write them, being so slanderous matters.

Thus passing divers daies in consultation and in other matters, expecting the return of Christopher Gunner, which was sent into England with letters unto the king in post, as is before rehearsed, at the last he returned with letters againe; upon the receit whereof my Lord made haste to return into England.

In the morning that my Lord intended to remove, being then at masse in his closet, he consecrated the Chancellor of Fraunce a Cardinall, and put upon him his habit, his hat, and his cap of

of scarlet; and then toke his journey returning againe into England, making such necessary expedition that he came to Guines, where he was nobly received of my Lord Sandes, then capitaine there, with all the retinue of the same. And from thence he rode to Callise, where he tarried the shipping of his stuff, horses and traine; and in the meane time he established there a marte, to be kept for all nations; but howe longe, and in what sorte it continued I know not, for I never heard of any great good it did, or any assembly there of merchants or merchandise, that was brought thither, for the furniture of so great and weighty a matter.

These things and other for the weale of the towne and garrison by him perfected and finished, as it was then thought, he toke shipping and arrived at Dover, from whence he rode to the court, the king then being in his progress at Sir Henry Wiatt's house, in Kent, of whom I and other of his servauntes thought, that he should be there highly received at his home comming, as well of the king as of others of the Lordes. But we were deceived in our expectation. Notwithstanding he went immediately after his comming thither to the king, with whom he had long talke, and continued two or three daies there in the court; and then returned to his house at Westminster, where he remained untill Michelmas terme, which was within lesse than a fortnight after, and exercised his high rome of Chauncellorship, as he was accustomed.

And immediately after the beginning of the terme, he caused to be assembled in the Star chamber all the noblemen, judges, and justices of the peace of every shire throughout England that were in Westminster hall at that present, and there made to them a long oration, declaring unto them, the cause of the embassage into Fraunce, and his

proceeding there; amongst the which he said, "he had concluded such an amity and friendship as never was hearde of in this realme before, as well betweene the Emperor and us, as also betweene the king our sovereign Lord and the French king, with a perpetuall peace, the which shall be confirmed in writing eternally, sealed with the broade seales of both the realmes graven in fine gold; affirming farther, that the king shall receive yearly his tribute by that name out of the duchy of Normandy, with all the costes which he hath sustained in the warres. And also, where there was restraint made in Fraunce of the French quene's dowry, whom the Duke of Suffolk had married, for diverse yeares during the warres, it was fully concluded, that she should not only receive the same again, according to her just right, but also the arrerages being unpaide during the restrainte. All which things shall be perfected shortly at the resort of the ambassadors out of Fraunce. In the which shall be such a great number of noblemen and gentlemen to conclude the same, as hath not bine seen heretofore repare hither out of one realme. This peace thus concluded, there shall be such an amity between the gentlemen of each realme, and intercourse of merchandise, that it shall seeme to all men, both territories to be but one monarchie. Gentlemen may travaile from one country to another for their recreation and pastime; then merchaunts, being in either country arrived, shall be assured to travaile about their affaires in peace and tranquillity: so that this realme shall joyé and prosper for ever. Therefore it shall be well done of all true Englishmen to rejoice, and to set forthe the same, at the resort of this great embassage, both in gesture and intertainement, that it may be an occasion unto them, bothe to accept the same

in

in good parte, and also to use you with the semblable, and make of the same a noble reporte in their countries.

"Now my masters I beseche you, and require you on the king's behalfe, that you shewe yourselves herein as loving and obedient subjects, wherein the king will much rejoice at your towardness." And here he ended his oration, and brake up the courte, and soe every man departed his several waye.

This great long loked for embassage was now come over with a great retinue, which were in number eighty persons or above of the most noblest and worthiest gentlemen in all Fraunce, who were right honorably received from place to place after their arrivall, and so conveied through London the twentieth of October A. D. 1527, unto the Bishoppes pallace there in Paules churche yarde, whereas they were lodged, or thereaboutes, for the time of their abode. To whome diverse noblemen resorted and gave them diverse goodly presents; and in especiall the Mayor and citty of London, as wine, sugar, waxe, capons, wild fowle, beastes, muttons, and other necessary things in great aboundaunce, for the expences of their house. Then resorted they on the Sonday unto the courte being at Grenewiche, and were there received by the king's Majesty, of whome they were highly entertained. They had a commission to establish the king's Highness in the order of Fraunce; for whom they brought, for that intent, a collar of fine gold, with the Michaell hanging thereat, and robes to the said order appurtenant, the which was very comely, of blue velvet, and richely embroidered, wherein I sawe the king passe into his closet, and after in the same apparell at masse beneathe in his chappell. And to gratify the French king for his great honour with the semblable, he sent incontinent a nobleman of the order here in England with

with Garter the Herald into Fraunce unto the French king, to establish him in the Order of the Garter, with a semblable collar, with a garter and robes according to the same; the ambassadors remaining here until their retourne.

All things being then determined and concluded, concerning the perpetuall peace upon solemn ceremonies and othes contained in certaine instruments touching the same, it was therefore determined, that there should be a solemne masse sung in the cathedrall church of Paules by the cardinall, the king being present at the same in his traverse. To the performaunce of their determination, and to the preparation thereof, there was made a gallery from the west doore of Paule's churche, through the body of the same, up to the quier doore, railed on every side, upon which railes stode swete burning perfumes. Then the king and my Lord Cardinall, with their whole traine of noblemen and gentlemen, went upon the saide gallery into the quier, and so to the high aulter unto the travers, my Lord Cardinall preparing himself to sing the masse, associated with twenty four miters of Bishoppes, and Abbotes, who attended and served him, in such ceremonies as to him were then due, by reason of his legatine prerogative.

And[7] after the last agnus, the king rose out of his

[7] *After the last Agnus.*] The book of ceremonies (compiled under the influence of the Bishops Gardiner and Tonstall, and in opposition to that of Cranmer, about the year 1540, and designed to retain in the church many operose and superstitious rites, by setting them off with the aids of a philosophical and subtle interpretation), describing in succession the different parts of the Canon of the Mass, proceeds thus, "Then saith the Priest *thrice*, *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi*, &c. advertising us of *three* effects of Christ's passion; whereof the *first* is, deliverance from the misery of sin; the *second*

his travers and kneled upon a carpett and cushions before the high aulter; and the like did the Graunde Master of Fraunce, the cheife ambassador, that represented the Frenche king, betwene whome my Lord Cardinall divided the blessed sacrament, as a perfect oathe, and bond of security of the saide covenante of perpetuall peace. That done, the king resorted againe to his travers, and the Grand Master to his. This masse being ended, which was solemnly sung bothe with the quier of the same churche, and with the king's chappell, my Lord Cardinall toke and read the instrument of peace openly before the king and all other bothe Frenche and Englishe, and there in the sight of all the people the king put his hande to the seale of gold, and subscribed the same with his own hande, and delivered the same to the Grand Master as his dede, who semblably did the like; and that done they departed.

And the king rode home with my Lord Cardinall to Westminster, and there dined with all the Frenchmen, passing all the day after with consultation of weighty matters, touching the conclusion of the saide articles of the saide perpetuall peace. The king then departed by water to Greenwiche; at whose departing it was concluded by the king's devise, that all the Frenchmen should resorte to Richmonde and hunt in every of the parks there, and from thence to Hampton Courte, and therein likewise to hunt, and my Lord Cardinall to make

second is from pain of everlasting damnation; wherefore he saith twice *Miserere nobis*, that is to say, *Have mercy on us!* and the *third* effect is, giving of everlasting peace, consisting in the glorious fruition of God." Strype's *Ecclesiast. Memorials*. Vol. I. p. 289. Records. See also *Mirror of our Lady*. fol. 189, and Becon's *Works*. Vol. III. fol. 49. A. D. 1564.

there

there a supper, or a banquet, or bothe to them; and from thence they should ride to Windsor, and there to hunt, and after their retourne againe to London, to resorte to the king at Greenwiche, and there to banquet with him before their departure. This determined, they all departed to their lodgings.

Then was there no more to doe but to make preparation of all things for this great assembly at Hampton Courte, at the day appointed. My Lord Cardinall called before him his principal officers, Steward, Treasurer, Controller, and the Clerkes of his kitchine, to whom he declared his full minde, touching the entertainement of the Frenchmen at Hampton Courte; whome he commaunded neither to spare for any costes, expences or travell, to make them such a triumphant banquett, as they may not only wonder at it here, but also make a glorious reporte thereof in their country, to the great honor of the king and his realme. His pleasure to them knowne, to accomplish his commaundement, they sent out all the caterers, purveyors, and diverse other persons to my Lord's friends to prepare. Also they sent for all their expert cokes, and cunning persons in the arte of cokery, which were within London, or elsewhere, that might be gotten to beautify this noble feast.

Then the purveiors provided, and my Lorde his friendes sent such provision, as you would wonder to have sene. The cokes wrought both night and day in subtelties and many crafty devises; where lacked neither gold, silver, neither any costly thing mete for the purpose.

The yeomen and groomes of the wardrobes were busied in hanging of the chambers with costly hangings, and furnished the same with beddes of silke, and other furniture for the same in every degree.

degree. Then my Lord Cardinall sent me, being his gentleman usher, with two other of my fellows thither, to foresee all things touching our roomes to be nobly garnished accordingly. Our paines were not small nor light, but dayly travelling up and downe from chamber to chamber. Then wrought the joiners, carpenters, masons, painters, and all other artificers necessary to be had to glorify this noble feast. There was carriage and re-carriage of plate, stuffe, and other riche implements, so that there was nothing lacking to be devised or imagined for the purpose. There were also provided two hundred and eighty beddes, furnished with all manner of furniture to them belonging, too long particularly here to be rehearsed. But all wise men may, and doe sufficiently know what belongeth to the furniture thereof, and that is sufficient at this time to be saide.

The day was come to the Frenchmen assigned, and they ready assembled before the houre of their appointment. Wherefore the officers caused them to ride to Hanworthe, a place and a parke of the king's within three miles, there to hunt and spend the day untill night. At which time they retourned againe to Hampton Courte, and every of them was conveied to their severall chambers, having in them great fires and wine for their comforte and releife, remaining there untill the supper was ready. The chambers where they supped and banquetted, were ordered in this sorte. First, the great waitinge chamber was hanged with rich arras, as all other were, one better than an other, and furnished with tall yeomen to serve. There was set tables round about the chamber, banquet wise covered. A cupboard was there garnished with white plate, having also in the same chamber, to give the more light, fower great plates of silver set

with

with great lightes, and a great fire of wood and coales.

The next chamber, being the chamber of presence, was hanged with very riche arras, and a sumptuous clothe of estate furnished with many goodly gentlemen to serve. The tables were ordered in manner as the other chamber was, saving that the high table was removed beneath the cloath of estate, towards the middest of the chamber, covered. Then was there a cupboard in length as broade as the chamber, with six deskes of height, garnished with gilt plate, and the nethermost desk was garnished all with gold plate, having with lightes one paire of candlestickes of silver and gilt, being curiously wrought, which cost three hundred marks, and standing upon the same two lightes of waxe burning, as big as torches, to set it forth. This cupboard was barred round about that no man could come nighe it; for there was none of all this plate touched in the banquet, for there was sufficient besides. The plates that hung on the walles to give light were of silver and gilt, having in them great perchers of waxe burning, a great fire in the chimney, and all other things necessary for the furniture of so noble a feast.

Nowe was all things in a readiness and supper time at hande. The principall officers caused the trumpetts to blowe to warne to supper. The said officers right discreetly went and conducted these noble-men from their owne chambers, into the chambers where they should suppe. And they being there, caused them to sit downe; and that done, their service came up in such aboundance, [illegible]ostly and full of subtilties, and with such a [illegible]t noise of instruments of musick that the [illegible]uchmen as it semed, were rapt into a heavenly paradise.

Ye

Ye must understande that my Lord Cardinall was not there, ne yet come, but they were merry and pleasaunte with their fare, and devised subtilties. Before the second course, my Lord Cardinall came in booted and spurred, all sodenly among them, and bade them *proface*[8]; at whose comming there was great joye with rising every man from his place. Whom my saide Lorde caused to sit still, and kepe their romes; and being in this apparell as he rode, he called for a chaire, and sat down in the middest of the highe table, laughing and being as merry as ever I sawe him in my life. Anon came up the second course, with many dishes, subtilties, and devises, about a hundred in number, which were of so goodly proportion and costly devise, that I thinke the Frenchmen never sawe the like. The wonder was no lesse than it was worthy in deede. There were castles with images in the same; Paules churche for the quantity as well counterfaited as the painter should have painted it on a cloath or wall. There were beastes, birdes, fowles, and personnages, most likely made and counterfaited, some fighting with swordes, some with gunnes and cross bowes, some vaulting and leaping; some dauncing with ladies, some on horses, in compleit harnes, justing with longe and sharpe speares, with many mo devises than I am able to describe. Among all, one I noted: There was a chess borde made with spiced plate[9], with men thereof to the same. And for the good proportion, and because the Frenchmen be very cunning and experte in that playe, my Lord Cardinall gave the same to a gentleman of France, commaunding there should

[8] *Proface.*] Much good may do you! Ital. *profaccia.*

[9] *Plate.*] Q. *paste?*

be

be made a goodly case, for the preservation thereof, in all haste, that he might convey the same safe into his country. Then toke my Lord a bowle of gold filled with hypocras, and putting off his cap, saide, "I drink to the king my soveraigne Lord, and next unto the king your master," and therewith dranke a good draught. And when he had done, he desired the Grand Master to pledge him cup and all, the which was well worth five hundred marks; and so caused all the borde to pledge these two royal princes.

Then went the cuppes so merrily about, that many of the Frenchmen were faine to be led to their beddes. Then rose up my Lord, and went into his privy chamber to pull off his bootes, and to shifte him; and then went he to supper in his privy chamber, and making a very shorte supper, yea rather a short repaste, retourned into the chamber of presence among the Frenchmen, using them so lovingly and familiarly, that they could not commend him too much.

And whilst they were in communication and other pastimes, all their liveries were served to their chambers. Every chamber had a basen and an ewer of silver, a great livery-pot of silver, and some gilt; yea and some chambers had two livery pots with wine and beare, a bowle and a goblet, and a pot of silver to drink in, bothe for their beare and wine; a silver candlestick, bothe white and plaine, having in it two sizes, and a staffe torche of waxe; a fine manchet, and a cheat loafe. Thus was every chamber furnished throughout all the house, and yet the cupboardes in the two banquetting chambers not once touched. Thus when it was more than time convenient they were convaied to their lodgings, where they rested at ease for the night. In the morning after they had heard masse,

masse, they dined with my Lorde, and so departed towardes Windsor. They being then departed, my Lord retourned againe to London, because it was in the middest of the tearme.

It is not to be doubted, but that the king was made privy of all this worthy feast, who then intended far to excede the same; which I leave untill the retourne of the Frenchmen, who had given an high commaundement to his officers to devise a farre more sumptuous banquet for the strangers, than they had at the Cardinall's; which was not neglected but pursued with all dilligence.

After the retourne of these straungers from Windsor, which place with the order thereof they much commended, the day approached that they were by the king invited to the courte; where first they dined, and after dauncing and other pastimes by them done, the time of supper came on. Then was the banquetting chamber in the tilt yarde at Greenwiche furnished for the enterteinement of these strangers, to the which place they were conducted by the noblest personnages then being in the courte, where they did bothe sup and banquet. But to describe unto you the order, the dishes, the subtilties, and strange devises of the same, I lack both a head of fine wit, and also cunning in my bowells to declare these wonderful devises. But thus ye shall understande; although it were marvaillous sumptuous at Hampton Courte, yet that notwithstanding, this banquet excelled the same, as farre as gold doeth exceed silver, in value of weight for weight; and for my parte I never sawe, heard nor read of the like. Then in the middest of this banquet, there was tourning at the barriers with lusty gentlemen in compleat armour very gorgious on foote; then was there the like on horseback; and after all this the most goodly disguising

or

or enterlude, made in Lattine, that I have seen; the plaines apparell being so riche, and of so strange devises, that it passeth my capacity to expound.

This done, there came a number of the fairest Ladies, and Gentlewomen, that bare any brute of bewty in all the Realme, in most richest apparell that their Tailors coulde invent or devise to set forthe their gesture proportion and beauty, that they semed to all men to be rather celestial Angels descended from heaven, than creatures of flesh and bone. Surely to me, simple soule, it was inestimable; and so I think it was to other of an higher judgment: with whom these gentlemen of Fraunce daunced, untill a gorgious maske came in of noble gentlemen, who daunced and masked with these Ladies, every man as his fantasy served him. That done, and the maskers departed, came in an other maske of Ladies so costly and gorgiously apparelled, that it passeth my wit to manifest and declare. Wherefore least I should rather deface their riches, I leave it untouched. These Ladies Maskers toke each of them one of the Frenchemen to daunce, and to maske. Ye shall understande, that these Noble-women Maskers spake good French unto the Frenchemen; which delighted them very much, to heare these Ladies speake to them in their owne tongue.

Thus was this night occupied and consumed from five of the clock, untill two or three of the clock after midnight; at which time it was convenient for all estates to drawe to their lodgings, and take their rest. And thus every man departed, whereas they had most releife. Then as nothing either health, wealth, or pleasure, can alwaies endure, so ended this triumphant banquette, which in the

the morning seemed to all the beholders but as a phantasticall dreame.

After all this solemne cheere, at a day appointed they prepared them with bag and baggage to retourne into Fraunce. Then, according to the order of all honorable persons, they resorted in good order unto the courte, to take their leave of the King, and other noblemen then being there: to whom the King declared first his princely pleasure of commendations unto the King their master, and thanked them for their paines and travell, and after long communication had with the most honorable among them, of the Embassage, he bad them adieu.

Then came they to Westminster unto my Lord to doe the like; of whome they received the King's rewardes, the which were these; every man of honour and estimation had plate, some to the value of three or four hundred poundes, and some more, and some lesse, besides other great giftes, received before of the King's Majesty, as gownes of velvet with rich furres, great chaines of gold, and some had goodly horses, or geldings, of great price and valewe, with diverse other giftes, which now I cannot call to remembrance. And the least of them had an ounce of crownes of gold: the worst page amonge had twenty crownes for his parte. And being thus nobly rewarded they departed. My Lord after humble commendations had by them to the Frenche King, bad them adieu. And the next day they were conveied with all their furniture, unto the sea side, with lusty young Gentlemen of Englande. And what praise, or commendation, or salutation they made in their country at their retourne, in good faithe I cannot shewe you, for I never heard any thing thereof. For then began other matters to brue, that occupied our heades

and

and imaginations, wherewith all men's stomakes were full, with small digestion.

The long-hid and secret love that was betwene the King, and Mistress Anne Bullen brake now out, and the matter was by the King disclosed unto my Lord Cardinall; whose persuasion upon his knees longe time before to the King to the contrary would not serve: the King was so affectioned, that will bare place, and discretion was banished cleane for the time. My Lord being provoked to declare his opinion and wisedome in the avauncement of his desired purpose, thought it not mete to wade too farre alone, or to give his hasty judgement or advice in so weighty a matter, but desired of the King license to aske counsell of men of auncient study, and famous learning, bothe in the divine and civil lawes. That obteined, by his legantine authority, he sent his commission out for all the Bishoppes of this realme, that were learned in either of the saide lawes, or else had in any highe estimation for their prudent counsaile and judgement in princely affaires of long experience.

Then assembled these noble prelates at Westminster before my Lord Cardinall, as well auncient famous and notable clerkes of bothe Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, as also of divers cathedrall colledges of this realme, reckoned and accompted learned and of witty discretion in the determination of doubtful matters. Then was this matter of the King's case debated, reasoned, argued, and consulted of from day to day, and time to time, that it was to the learned a goodly hearing, but in the conclusion as it semed to me, and other, the auncient fathers of bothe the lawes, by my small estimation, at their departure, departed with one judgement contrary to the principall expectation.

I heard

I heard then the opinion of some of the most famous persons, amonge that sorte, reporte, that the King's case was too obscure for any learned man to discuss, the pointes therein were so doubtfull to have any true understanding or intelligence. And therefore they departed without any resolution or judgement. Then in this assembly of Bishoppes it was thought most expedient, that the King should first send out his commissioners into all the Universities of Christendome, as well here in Englande, as into forraine regions, to have among them his Grace's case argued substauntially, and to bringe with them from thence the very definition of their opinions in the same, under the seales of every University. That for this time was their determination; and so allowed, that diverse commisioners were incontinent appointed to this matter, who were divided, as some to Oxonforde, some to Cambridge, some to Lovaine, some to Paris, some to Orleaunce, some to Bononye, and some to Padway, and so forthe. Although these commisioners had the travell, yet was the costes and charges the King's; the which were no lesse than great and notable sommes of money, and all went out of this realme. For as I heard reported (and as it semed in deede) besides the charges of the embassage, the famous and most notable persons, and in especiall such as had any rule, or had the custody of their Universitie seales, were choked by the commisioners with such notable sommes of money [1], that

[1] *Such notable sums of money.*] It is a question of fact which has been warmly debated, whether the suffrages of the Universities in Henry's favor were purchased by money. It does not seem very necessary that we should enter into this dispute. But any one who wishes so to do, may consult, Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. III. p. 401, Appendix. Harmer's *Specimen of Errors*, p. 7. Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, p. 420. Poli *Epistolæ*, Vol. I. p. 238. A. D. 1744.

they were the more glad to agree to their requestes, and to graunt to all that they desired; by meanes whereof all the commisioners retourned home againe with their purpose finished according to their commision, under the particular seale of every severall University, whereat there was no small joy conceived of the principall persons: In so much as the commisioners were not only ever after in great estimation, but also most liberally advaunced and rewarded, far beyond their worthy desertes. Notwithstanding, they prospered, and the matter went still forwarde, having now (as they thought) a sure staffe to stand by.

These procedings declared to my Lord Cardinall, he sent againe for the Bishoppes, to whom he declared the effect and travell of these commisioners, and for affirmaunce thereof shewed them the Instruments of every University[1] under the severall seales. Then this matter brought to passe, they went once againe to consultation, how it should be ordered to the purpose. It was then thought good and concluded, that the King should send unto the Pope, declaring the opinions of those Universities, which were manifestly authorized by their common seales; to the which it was thought that the consent of these worthy Prelates of this Realme should be necessary to be sent also thither, altoge-

[1] *The Instruments of every University.*] Eight of these determinations soon after were printed in one volume, with a long Discourse in support of the judgments contained in them, under the following title; "The Determinations of the moste famous and mooste excellent Universities of Italy and Fraunce, that it is so unlefull for a man to marry his Brothers Wyfe, that the Pope hath no power to dispence therewith: imprinted by Thomas Berthelet the 7. day of Novembre, 1531." They were also published in Latin: in which language they are exhibited by Bishop Burnet in his *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. I. Book II. N°. 34. Records.

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ther comprised in an Instrument, sealed with all their seales annexed to the saide Instrument, which was not long in doing; nor was long after, but the Ambassadors were assigned to travaille in this matter, and to take upon them this journey accordingly, having furthermore certaine instructions, amonge which one was this, that if the Pope would not hereupon agree to give judgement definitive in the King's case, then to require another commision from his Holiness, to be graunted *under leade* to establish a court to be kept in Englande for that purpose, only directed to my Lord Cardinall and Legate of Englande, and to the Cardinall Campaigne (who was then, although he were a stranger, Bishoppe of Bathe, the which the King gave him at a certaine time, being an Ambassador from the Pope,) to determine and justly to judge according to their conscience and discretions. To the which after long sute made, and the good will of the sayd Cardinall by faire promises obteined to travell into England, the Pope graunted to their sute. And this done and atcheved, they made retourne unto the King, making relation unto him, that now his Graces pleasure and purpose should be brought substantially to passe, being never more likely, considering the state of bothe the Judges.

Long was the expectation on all sides for the comming of this Legate from Rome, with his commision. After very long desire this Legate was arrived in England, and being sore vexed with the disease of the goute, was constrained by force thereof to make a longe journey or ever he came to London; who should have bine most solemnely received at Blackheath, and so with triumph conveied to London, but his desire was such, that he would not so be entertained with pompe, and vaine glory, and therefore sodainly came to his house with-

out Temple barre, called then Bathe Place, where he was lodged, which was furnished with all manner of stuffe and implements of my Lord's provision.

So then after some deliberation, and consultation in the ordering and using of the King's matters, and his commision and the articles of his ambassage seene, read, and digested, it was determined, that the King and the good Queene, his just wife, should be lodged at Bridewell. And then in the Black Friars a certaine place was there appointed most convenient for the King and Queene's repaire to the courte, there to be kept for the disputation and determination of the case, whereas these two Legates sat Judges; before whom the King and Queene were asscited and summoned to appeare; which was a strange sight, and the newest device, that ever was read or heard of before, in any region story or chronicle, a king and a queene to be constrained by process compellatory to appeare in any courte as common persons, within their owne realme and dominion, to abide the judgements and decres of their own subjects, being the royall diademe and prerogative thereof. Forsoothe it is a world to consider the desirous will of wilfull princes, when they be set and earnestly bent to have their wills fulfilled, wherein no reasonable persuasions will suffice; and how little they regard the dangerous sequell that may ensue as well to themselves as to all their subjects. And above all things, there is nothing that maketh them more willfull than carnall love, and sensuall affection of voluptuous desire, and pleasures of their bodies, as was in this case; wherein nothing could be of greater experience than to see what inventions were furnished, what lawes were enacted, what costly edifications of noble and auncient monasteries were overthrowne, what

what diversity of opinions then rose, what executions were then committed, how many noble clerkes and good men were then for the same put to deathe, and what alteration of good, auncient, and holesome lawes, customes, and charitable foundations were tourned from reliefe of the poore, to utter destruction and desolation, almost to the subversion of this noble realme. It is sure too much pitty to heare or understand the things that have since that time chaunced and happened to this region. The profe thereof hath taught us all Englishmen the experience, too lamentable of all good men to be considered. If eyes be not blind men may see, if eares be not stopped they may heare, and if pitty be not exiled the inwarde man may lament the sequell of this pernicious and inordinate love. Although it lasted but a while, the plague thereof is not yet ceased, which our Lorde quenche, and take his indignation from us! *Qui peccavimus cum patribus nostris, et injuste egimus.*

Ye shall understande, as I saide before, that there was a courte erected in the Black Friars in London, whereas sat these two Cardinalls for Judges in the same. Nowe I will set you out the manner and order of the saide courte. First, there was a courte planted with tables and benches, in manner of a consistory, one seat raised higher (for the Judges to sit in) than the other were. Then as it were in the middest of the saide Judges, aloafte above them three degrees highe, was a cloath of estate hanged, with a chaire royall under the same, wherein sat the King; and besides him, some distaunce from him, sat the Queene; and under the Judges feete sat the Scribes, and other necessary officers, for the execution of the process, and other things appertaining to such a courte. The chiefe

Scribe

Scribe was Dr. Stevens[1] after Bishoppe of Winchester, and the apparitour, who was called Doctor of the courte, was one Cooke, most commonly called Cooke of Winchester. Then, before the King and the Judges, within the courte, sat the Archbishoppe of Canterbury Doctor Warham, and all the other bishops. Then stoode at bothe endes within, the consellors learned in the spirituall lawes, as well the King's, as the Queene's. The Doctors of lawe for the King was Doctor Sampson, that was after Bishoppe of Chichester, and Doctor Bell, which was after Bishoppe of Worcester, with diverse other: and procurators in the same lawe, on that side, was Doctor Peter, who was after chiefe Secretary, and Doctor Tregonwell, with diverse others.

Nowe on the other side there was a councell for the Queene standing there; that is to say, Doctor Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Doctor Standishe, Bishop of Saint Asaphe in Wales, two notable divines, and in especiall the Bishop of Rochester, a very godly man; for whose deathe many noble clerkes and good men lamented, who lost his heade

[1] *Was* Doctor Stevens.] Doctor Stephen Gardiner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, at this time in great estimation with Wolsey. In Letters and other documents of this period he is often called Doctor *Stevens*. Mr. Granger in the third Vol. of Bishop Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 385, Appendix, intimates that this was a colloquial vulgarism; *vulgarly*, as Stephen Gardiner was Mr. *Stevyns*, in Wolsey's Letter." But it is questionable, I think, whether this is the true account of that name. The Bishop himself, in his Declaration of his Articles against George Joye, A. D. 1546, fol. 3. b. of the 4to edition, thus speaks of it, "a booke, wherein he wrote, how Doctor *Stevens* (by *whiche name* I was *then* called) had deceyved hym." And Cavendish below adverts to this appellation in very similar terms. "To this embassage was appointed Dr. Stephen Gardiner, *then called by the name of Doctor Stevens*, and Secretary to the King.

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for this cause, ere it was ended, on Tower hill. There was also another auncient Doctor, called Doctor Ridley, a very small person of stature, but surely a great and an excellent clerke in Divinity. Thus was the courte ordered, and furnished.

The Judges commaunded the Crier to proclaim silence, whilest their commission was read bothe to the courte and to the people assembled. That done, then the Scribes commaunded the Crier to call the King, by the name of "King Henry of England, come into the courte," and with that the King aunswered and said "Here." Then called he againe the Queene, by the name of "Katherine queene of Englande, come into the courte," who made no aunswer thereto, but rose incontinent out of her chaire, whereas she sat, and because she could not come to the King directly, for the distance severed betweene them, she toke paine to goe about by the courte, and came to the King, kneeling downe at his feete in the sight of all the courte and people, to whom she sayd[4] in effect these words, in broken Englishe, as here after followeth.

"Sir,"

[4] *In effect these words*] Upon all this process the reader may consult Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. III. p. 46—48. The Bishop affirms positively that the King did not appear personally, but by proxy; and that the Queen withdrew after reading a protest against the competency of her judges. "And from this it is clear (says the Bishop), that the speeches that the Historians have made for them, are all plain falsities." It is no easy matter to contradict the confident affirmation of the Historian, and the alledged authority upon which he professes to rely, which is corroborated also by Fox's *Acts*, p. 958; but at the same, it must be observed, that the testimony for the personal appearance of the King before the Cardinals is surprisingly powerful; I mean, even though we do not go beyond Cavendish, and the other ordinary Historians. But in addition to these, we may refer to the authority of William Thomas, Clerk of the Council in the reign of King Edward VI, and a well informed writer: who, in a professed Apology for Henry VIII, extant in MS. in the Lambeth

"Sir," quoth she, "I beseeche you to doe me justice and right, and take some pitty upon me, for I am a poore woman and a straunger, borne out of your dominion, having here no indifferent counsell, and lesse assuraunce of friendship. Alas! Sir, what have I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure have I shewed you, intending thus to put me from you after this sorte? I take God to my judge, I have bine to you a true and an humble wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, that never constrained or gainesayd any thing thereof, and being alwaies contented with all things wherein you had any delight or daliaunce, whether it were little or much, without grudge or countenaunce of discontentation or displeasure. I loved for your sake all men whome ye loved, whether I had cause or no cause; or whether they were my friends or enemies. I have bine your wife this twenty yeares or more, and ye have had by me diverse children.

"And when ye had me at the first, I take God to my judge, that I was a very maide; and whether it be true or no, I put it to your conscience. If there be any just cause that ye can alleadge against me, either of dishonesty or other matter lawfull to put me from you, I am content to departe to my shame and rebuke; and if there be none, then I pray you let me have justice at your handes. The King your father was in his time of such an excellent wit, that he was accompted among all men for his wisdome to be a second Solomon. And the King of Spaine my father Ferdinand, was reckoned to be one of the wisest princes that reigned in Spaine,

Lambeth and some other Libraries, speaking of this affair affirms, "that the Cardinal (Campegius) caused the King as a private partie in person to appeare before him, and the Ladie Katharin both." P. 31.

many

many yeares before his daies: and so they were bothe wise men and noble kings. It is not therefore to be doubted, but that they had gathered together as wise counsellors unto them of every realme, as to their wisdomes they thought meete. And, as me semeth, there were in those daies as wise and well learned men in bothe realmes as be now at this day, who thought the marriage between You and Me good and lawfull. Therefore it is a wonder to heare what new inventions are now invented against me, that never intended but honesty. And now to cause me to stand to the order and judgement of this courte, it should, as semeth me, doe me much wronge: for ye may condemne me for lack of aunswer, having no counsell but such as you have assigned me. Ye must consider that they cannot be indifferent on my parte, when they be your own subjects, and such as ye have taken and chosen out of your owne counsell, whereunto they are privy, and dare not disclose your will and intent. Therefore I humbly desire you, in the way of charity to spare me, untill I may knowe what counsell and advise my friends in Spaine will advise me to take. And if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled." And with that she rose up and made a low courtesy to the King, and departed from thence, many supposing that she would have resorted againe to her former place; but she toke her way streight out of the courte, leaning upon the arme of one of her servauntes, who was her General Receiver, called Mr. Griffithe. The King being advertised that she was ready to goe out of the house whereas the courte was kept, commaunded the crier to call her againe, who called her by these wordes "Katherine Queene of Englande, come into the courte." With that quoth Mr. Griffithe "Madame ye be called againe." "On, on,"

on," quoth she, "it maketh no matter, it is no indifferent courte for me, therefore I will not tarry. Goe on your waies." And thus she departed, without any farther aunswer, at that time, or any other, and never would appeare after in any other courte.

The King perceiving she was departed thus, and considering her wordes which she pronounced before time, saide to the audience these wordes in effect. "For as much," quothe he, "as the Queene is gone, I will, in her absence, declare unto you all, that she hath bine to me as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife as I could wishe or desire. She hath all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of a baser estate. She is also surely a noble woman borne, her conditions will well declare the same." With that quoth the Lord Cardinall "Sir, I most humbly require your Highness to declare before all this audience, whether I have bine the cheife[5] and first mover of this matter unto your Majesty or no; for I am greatly suspected of all men herein." "My Lord Cardinall" quoth the King "I can well excuse you in this matter. Mary (quoth he), ye have bine rather against me in the attempting hereof, than a setter forthe, or a mover of the same. The speciall cause that moved me unto this matter was, a certaine scrupulosity that pricked my conscience, upon certaine wordes spoken at a time by the Bishop of Bayon, the Frenche Ambassador, who had bine hither sent upon the debating of a marriage to be concluded betweene the Princess our Daughter, the Lady Mary, and the Duke of Orleaunce se-

[5] *Whether I have been the chief.*] See Neve's *Animadversions on Phillips's Life of Cardinal Pole*, p. 62.

cond

cond sonne to the King of Fraunce. And upon the consultation and determination of the same, he desired respite to advertise the King his Master thereof, whether our daughter Mary should be legitimate, in respect of this my marriage with this woman, being sometimes my brother's wife. Which wordes once conceived in the secrete bottom of my conscience, engendered such a scrupulous doubt, that my conscience was incontinently accombred, vexed, and disquieted; whereby I thought myself to be in great danger of God's indignation; which appeared to me, as me semed, the rather for that he sent us no issue male; and all such issues male, as my said wife had by me, died incontinent after they came into the world; so that I doubted the great displeasure of God in that behalfe. Thus my conscience being tossed in the waves of scrupulous doubtes, and partly in despaire to have any other issue than I had already by this Lady now my wife, it behoved me further to consider the state of this realme, and the danger it stode in for lack of a Prince to succeede me. I thought it good therefore in release of the weighty burden of my weak conscience, and also the quiet state of this worthy realme, to attempt the lawe therein, whether I may lawfully take an other wife more lawfull, without spot of carnall concupisence, by whom God may send me more issue, in case this my first copulation was not good: and not for any displeasure or misliking of the Queene's person and age, with whom I could be as well contented to continue, if our marriage may stande with the lawes of God, as with any woman alive; in which pointe consisteth all this doubt that we goe nowe about to try by the learning, wisedom, and judgement, of you our prelates and pastors, of all this our realme and dominion, now here assembled for that purpose;

purpose; to whose conscience and learning I have committed the charge and judgement, according to the which I will (God willing) be right well content to submit myselfe, and for my parte obey the same. Wherein after I perceived my conscience so doubtfull, I moved it in confession to you, my Lord of Lincolne[6], then my ghostly father. And for as much as then you yourself were in some doubt, you moved me to ask counsell of all you my Lordes; whereupon I moved it to you my Lorde of Caunterbury, first to have your license, (in so much as ye were metropolitaine) to put this matter in question; and so I did of you all, my Lordes, to which all ye graunted under all your seales, and that I have here to be shewed." "That is truth if it please your Grace," quoth the Bishoppe of Canterbury, "I doubt not but that my brethren here present will acknowledge the same." "No Sir, not so under your correction," quothe the Bishoppe of Rochester, "for you have not mine, no." "Ah," quoth the King, "loke here, is not this your hand and your seale?" and shewed

[6] *To you my Lord of Lincolne.*] "In a Manuscript Life of Sir Thomas More, written not many years after Longland's death, this account is given. 'I have heard Dr. Draycot, that was his (Longland's) Chaplain and Chancellor say, that he once told the Bishop, what rumour ran upon him in that matter; and desired to know of him the very truth. Who answered, that in very deed he did not break the matter after that sort, as is said: but the King brake the matter to him first; and never left urging him, until he had won him to give his consent. Of which his doings he did forethink himself, and repented afterward.' MSS. Coll. Eman. Cantab." Baker's Notes on Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*; in Burnet Vol. III. p. 400, Appendix. The same Life is among the MSS. in the Lambeth Library, N°. 827, (see fol. 12), and, I have reason to think, was composed about the year 1556, and by Nicolas Harpsfield. From these concurrent testimonies it should appear, that the charge which has been often urged against Wolsey, that it was through his intrigues that Longland first suggested his scruples to the King, is unfounded.

him

him the instrument with seales. "No forsoothe," quoth the Bishop. "How say *You* to that," quoth the King to my Lord of Caunturbury. "Sir, it is his hand, and his seale." said my Lorde of Caunterbury. "No, my Lorde," quoth the Bishop of Rochester. "Indeede You were in hand with me to have bothe my hand and seale, as other of my Lordes have done; but then I saide againe to you, I would never consent to any such acte, for it was much against my conscience; and therefore my hand and seale shall never be set to any such Instrument, God willing, with much more matter touching the same communication betweene us." "You say truthe," quoth the Bishop of Caunterbury, "such wordes you had unto me; but you were fully resolved at last, that I should subscribe your name, and put to your seale myselfe, and you would allowe the same." "All which," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "under your correction my Lord, is not true." "Well, well," quoth the King "it maketh no great matter; we will not stand with you in argument: you are but one man." And with that the King rose up, and the courte was adjourned untill an other day.

The next courte day the Cardinall sat againe, at which time the councell on both sides were there ready presently to aunswer. The King's counsell alledged the matrimony not to be lawful at the beginning, because of the carnall copulation had betwene Prince Arthur and the Queene. This matter was very sore and vehemently touched on that side; and to prove the carnall copulation they alleadged many reasons and similitudes of truthe. And being aunswered againe negatively on the other side, it seemed that all their former allegations were very doubtfull to be tried, and that no man knewe the truth. "Yes," quoth the Bishop of Rochester, "I knowe the truth." "How knowe you," quoth my

my Lord Cardinall, "more than any other person?" "Yes forsoothe my Lord," quoth he, "*Quia ego sum professor veritatis*, therefore I knowe the truth. I know that God is truth itselfe, and he never sayeth but truth; and God saith, *quos Deus conjunxit, homo non separet.* And forasmuch as this marriage was joined and made by God to a good intent, I say that I knowe the truthe; and that men cannot break, upon any wilfull occaision, that which God hath made and constituted." "Soe much doe all faithful men," quoth my Lord Cardinall, "know as well as you. Yet this reason is not sufficient in this case; for the King's counsell doe alledge diverse presumptions, to prove that it was not lawfull at the beginning, *ergo* it was not ordained by God, for God doeth nothing without a due order. Therefore it is not to be doubted, but if the presumptions be true, which they alleadge to be most true, then the conjunction was not, ne could be, of God. Therefore I say unto you, my Lord of Rochester, ye know not the truthe, unless ye can avoide their presumption by just reasons." "Then," quoth one Doctor Ridley, "it is a shame and a great dishonour to this honorable presence, that any such presumptions should be alleadged in this open courte, which be too detestable to be rehearsed." "What," quoth my Lord Cardinall, "*Domine Doctor, magis reverenter.*" "No, no, my Lord," quoth he, "there belongeth no reverence to be given to this matter; for an unreverent matter would be unreverently aunswered." And there they lefte, and proceeded forthe with other matter.

Thus this courte passed from session to session, and day to day, till at a certaine day of their session the King sent for my Lord Cardinall to come to him to Bridewell; who to accomplish his commaundement

maundement went to him, and being there with him in communication in his privy chamber from an eleven untill twelve of the clocke at noone, and past, my Lord departed from the King and toke his barge at the Blackfriars, and went to his house at Westminster. The Bishop of Carlile being in his barge at that time, saide unto him, (winding of his face), "It is a very hot day." "Yea my Lord," quoth the Cardinall, "if ye had bine as well chafed as I have bine within this houre, ye would say it were very hot." And as soon as he came home to his house at Westminster, he went incontinent to his naked bed, where he had not lyen fully two houres, but that my Lorde of Wiltshire, Mistress Anne Bulleines father, came to speake with him of a message from the Kinge. My Lord, understanding of his comming, commaunded he should be brought to his bedde's side; and he being there shewed him the King's pleasure was, that he should incontinently goe with the other Cardinall to the Queene, whoe was then in Bridewell, in her chamber there, to perswade with her by their wisdomes, and to advise her to surrender the whole matter unto the King's handes by her owne consent and will; which should be muche better to her honor, than to stande to the triall of lawe, and thereby to be condemned, which would seem much to her dishonour. To fulfill the King's pleasure, my Lord saide, he was ready, and would prepare him to goe thither out of hande, but quoth he farther to my Lord of Wiltshire, "Ye and other my Lordes of the counsell, are not a little mis-advised, to put any such fantasy into the King's head, whereby you doe trouble all the realme; and at length get you shall small thankes for your laboures, both of God and the world," with many other vehement wordes and reasons, which caused my Lord of Wiltshire

Wiltshire to weepe[1], kneling by my Lorde's bedde side, and in conclusion departed. And then my Lord arose, and made him ready, taking his barge, and went streight to Bathe Place to Cardinall Campeigne; and so they went together to Bridewell, directly to the Queene's lodging; and being in her chamber of presence they shewed the Gentleman Usher that they came to speake with the Queene's Grace. The Gentleman Usher advertised the Queene, that the Cardinalls were come to speake with her. With that she rose up, and with a skaine of white thread about her necke, came into her chamber of presence, where the Cardinalls were attending her comming. At whose comming, quoth she, "Alack my Lordes, I am very sorry to make you attend upon me; what is your pleasure with mee?" "If it please your Grace," quoth my Lord, "to goe into your privy chamber, we will shewe you the cause of our comming." "My Lord," quoth she, "if you have any thing to say, speake it openly before all these folkes; for I feare nothing that ye can say or alleadge against me, but that I would all the worlde should bothe heare and see it; and therefore speake your minds openly, I pray you." Then began my Lorde to speake to her in Latine. "Nay good my Lorde," quoth she, "speake to me in Englishe, for I can, I thanke God, both speake and understande English; although I doe understand some Latine." "Forsoothe," quoth my Lord, "good Madame, we come bothe to knowe, if it please your Grace, your minde, how you are disposed to doe in this matter betweene the King and You, and also to declare secretly our opinions and counsell unto you, which we doe only for very zeale and obedience we beare unto your

[1] *To weepe.*] "To be silent." MS. 250. Lamb. Libr.

Grace."

Grace." "My lord," quoth she, "I thanke you for your good will; but to make an aunswer to your requeſtes I cannot so sodainly, for I was set among my maides at worke, thinking full little of any such mattere, wherein there nedeth a longe deliberation, and a better heade than mine, to make aunswer; for I nede of counsell in this case, which toucheth mee to neare; and for any counsell or friendship that I can find in Englande, they are not for my profiit. What thinke you, I pray you, my lordes; will any Englishman counsell me, or be friendly to me against the king's pleasure, that is his subject? Nay forsoothe: and as for my counsell in whom I will put my trust, they be not here; they be in Spaine in mine own country. Also my lordes, I am a poore woman lacking wit, to aunswer to any such noble persons of wisdome, as ye be, in so weighty a matter. Therefore I pray you be good unto me, a poore woman destitute and barren of friendship here in a forraine country: and your counsell also I will be glad to heare."

And therewith she toke my lord cardinall by the hande, and led him into her privie chamber, with the other cardinall; where they tarried a season talking with the Queene, and we might hear her very loude, but what she said we could not tell. The communication ended, they departed and went to the king, making to him relation of her talke; and after returned home to their houses to supper.

Thus this strange case went forwarde from courte to courte, untill it came to the judgment, so that every man expected the judgment would be given the next court day. At which day the king came thither, and sat him downe in a chaire, within a dore in the ende of the gallery, which opened directly against the judgment seate, to heare the

judgment given; at which time all their proceedings were openly read in Latine. That done, the kings counsell at the barre, called fast for judgment. With that quoth Cardinall Campaine, "I will not give judgement till I have made relation to the pope of all our proceedings, whose counsell and commaundement in this case I will observe. The matter is too highe for us to give any hasty judgement, considering the highness of the persons, and the doubtful occasions alleadged; and also whose commisioners we be, under whose authority we sit. It were therefore reason, that we should make our chiefe head of counsell in the same, before we procede to judgement definitive. I come not to speake for favor, mede, or dread of any person alive, be he king or otherwise. I have no such respect to the person that I will offend my conscience. I will not for the favor or displeasure of any highe estate doe that thing that should be against the will of God. I am an ould man, bothe weake and sickly, that loketh daily for deathe. What should it availe me to put my soule in daunger of Gods displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favor of any prince or high estate in this world? My being here is only to see justice ministred according to my conscience, which thing myself doe also most desyer. And forasmuch as I doe understande, having perceivance by the allegations in the matter, the case is very doubtful, and also the party defendaunt will make no aunswer here, but doth rather appeale from us, supposing that we be not indifferent, considering the kings high dignity and authority within his owne realme which he hath over his subjects; and we being his subjects, she thinketh that we cannot doe justice for feare of displeasure. Therefore to avoide all these ambiguities and doubts, I will not

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damne my soule for any prince or potentate alive. Therefore, I intend not to wade any farther in this matter, unles I have the just opinion and assent of the pope, and such other of more auncient experience, or as be sene better in such doubtful laws, than I am. Wherefore I will adjourne this courte, for this time, according to the order of the courte of Rome, from whence semblably our jurisdiction is derived. And if we should goe further than our commision doeth warrant us, it were great folly and much to our blames; and we may be breakers of the order of the high courte from which (as I said) our authorities be derived." And with that the courte was dissolved, and no more done.

Then stept forthe the duke of Suffolke [8] from the king, by his commaundement, and spake with an hault

[8] *The duke of Suffolke.*] These proceedings led the way to the next great step in the progress of the Reformation, the renunciation of the pope's authority, and the establishment of the regal supremacy. The following account, from an unpublished treatise, of the manner in which these questions were first brought to the king's mind (whether authentic or not) may not be unacceptable to my readers.

"Now unto that you say, that because pope Clement would not dispense with his second matrimonie, his majestie extirped out of England the papal authoritie, a thinge of most auncient and godly reverence as you take it, I aunsweare that after the kinges highness had so appeared in person before the cardinal Campegio, one of the princes of his realme, named the *Duke of Suffolk*, a great wise man, and of more familiariti with the kinge, than any other person, asked his majestie, 'how this matter might come to passe, that a prince in his own realme, should so humble himself before the feet of a vile, strange vitious priest,' (for Campegio there in England demeaned himself in very deed most carnally — —). Whereunto the king aunswered, "he could not tell; but only that it seemed unto him, the spiritual men ought to judge spiritual matters: and yet as you saye (sayd the king) me seemeth there should be somewhat in it, and I would right gladly understand, why and how, were it not that I would be loth to

hault countenaunce these wordes, "It was never merry in Englande," (quoth he,) "while we had any cardinalls [9] amongst us:" which wordes were set forthe bothe with countenaunce and vehemency, that all men marvailed what he intended; to whome no man made aunswer. Then the duke spake againe in great despight. To the which my lord cardinal, perceiving his vehemency, soberly maide aunswer, and saide, "Sir, of all men

appeare more curious than other princes." "Why sir (sayd the duke) your majestie may cause the matter to be discussed secretly by your learned men, without any rumour at all." "Very well (sayd the kinge), and so shall it be." And thus inspired of God, called he diverse of his trusty and great doctours unto him; charging them distinctly to examine, *what lawe of God should directe so carnal a man as Campegio, under the name of spiritual, to judge a king in his owne realme.* According unto whose commandment, these doctors resorting together into an appointed place, disputed this matter *large et stricte*, as the case required. And as the blacke by the white is knowen, so by conferring the oppositions together, it appeared that the evangelical lawe, varied much from the canon lawes in this pointe. So that in effect, because two contraries cannot stand *in uno subjecto, eodem casu et tempore*, they were constrained to recurre unto the kinges majesties pleasure, to knowe whether of these two lawes should be preferred: who smiling at the ignorance of so fonde a question aunsweared, that the Gospell of Christ ought to be the absolute rule unto all others; commanding them therefore to followe the same, without regard either to the civile, canon, or whatsoever other lawe. And here began the quicke: for these doctours had no sooner taken the Gospel for their absolute rule, but they found this popish authoritie over the kinges and princes of this earth to be usurped," William Thomas's *Apology for king Henry the Eighth*, written A.D. 1547. p. 34. Lambeth Library. MSS. N° 464.

[9] *While we had any cardinalls.*] The intrigues and other evils which cardinals brought along with them wherever they came, had involved their name in a degree of proverbial disrepute. Even so early as the days of Pier's Ploughman, we learn, that there was a general outcry against them.

"The commune *clamat quotidie*, ech a man to other,
The contry is the cursseder that cardinals comen in."

Visions of Pier's Ploughman, fol. 110. edit. 1550.

within this realme, ye have least cause to dispraise cardinalls: for, if I, poore cardinall, had not bine, you should have had at this present no head upon your shoulders, wherewith you might make any such bragge, in despight of us, who intend you no manner of damage; neither have we given you any cause, to be with such despight offended. I would you knew it my lord, I and my brother here intend the king and this realme, as much honor, wealthe, and quietness, as you or any other, of what degree soever he be, within this realme; and would as gladly accomplish his lawful desire. Sir, I pray you my lord, shew me what you would doe in case you were the kings commisioner in a forraine country, having a very weighty matter to treat on: and upon the doubtful conclusion thereof, would you not advertise the Kings Majesty or ere ye went through with the same? Yes, I doubt not. Therefore put your hasty malice and despight away, and consider that we be but commisioners for a time, and cannot, ne may not, by virtue of our commision procede to judgement, without the knowledge and consent of the heade of our authority, and licence of him obtained; which is the pope. Therefore we doe neither more nor lesse than our warrant will beare us; and if any man will be offended with us therefore, he is an unwise man. Therefore hold your peace, my lord, and pacify yourselfe, and speak like a man of honor and wisdome, and speak not so quickly or reproachfully to your friends; for you know best what friendship [1] I have shewed you, which I never yet revealed to any person alive before

[1] *You know best what friendship.*] The history and occasion of this great obligation of the duke of Suffolk to the cardinal, who plainly intimates that but for his interposition the duke must have lost his life, does not appear to be known to the historians. See Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, P. 454.

nowe

nowe, neither to my glory, nor to your dishonor." And therewith the duke gave over the matter, without any further wordes or aunswer, and went his way.

This matter continued thus a longe season, and my lord cardinall was in displeasure with the king, for that the matter in his sute toke no better successe to his purpose: notwithstanding, my lord excused him by his commision, which gave him no authority to procede in judgement, without knowledge of the pope, who reserved the same to himselfe.

At the last they were advertised by their post, that the pope would take deliberation in the matter, until his courtes opened, which should not be before Bartholmewe tide next. The king considering the same too long before it should be determined, thought it good to send an ambassador to the pope, to perswade with him to shewe such honorable favor to his majesty, that the matter might sooner be ended, than it was like to be, or else at the next courte to rule the matter over, according to his request.

To this embassage was appointed doctor Stephen Gardiner, then called by the name of Doctor Stephens, and secretary to the king, who after was made bishop of Winchester. This Doctor Stephens went thither, and there tarried till the latter end of sommer, as ye shall hear hereafter.

Then the king commanded the queene to be removed out of the courte, and sent to another place; and his highness rode in his progress, with Mrs. Anne Bullen in his company, all that season.

It was so that the cardinal Campaigne made sute to be discharged, that he might returne to Rome. Then it chaunced that Mr. secretary was

retourned

retourned home from thence; whereupon it was concluded that cardinall Campaigne should come to the king at Grafton in Northamptonshire, and to be conducted by my lord cardinall. And so they toke their journey from the moore thitherward, and were lodged the first night at a towne in Bedfordshire, called Leighton Bussarde, in the parsonage there, being Mr. Doctor Chambers's benefice, the kings phisition. And from thence they rode the next day, which was Sonday, to Grafton; before whose comming, there rose diverse opinions in the courte, that the king would not speake with my lord cardinall; whereupon were laied many great wagers.

These two prelates being come to the gates of the courte, they lighted from their horses, supposing they should have been received by the head officers of the household; howbeit it fell out nothing so. Nevertheless, for as much as cardinall Campaigne was but a straunger, the sayd officers met him, with their white staves in their handes, in the base courte, and so conveied him to his lodging prepared for him only. And after my lord had brought him to his lodging, he departed thinking to have gone likewise directly to his chamber, as he was wont to doe. Then it was told him, that he had no chamber nor lodging ordained or appointed him in the courte. Being astonied with this newes, sir Henry Norris, which was then Grôme of the Stole to the King, came unto him, desiring his Grace to take his chamber for the time, untill another might be provided for him, "For sir, I assure you," quoth he, "here is very little roome in this house for the King; therefore I beseech your Grace to accept mine for the season." And therewith my lord, thanking him for his gentleness, went streight to Mr. Norris's chamber, where

where he shifted his riding apparel; and in the meane while, being thus in his chamber, diverse of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, being his loving freindes, came to welcome him to the courte, by whom my lord was advertised of all things touching the kings favor or displeasure towards him; which did him no small pleasure; for being admonished of the cause of the kings displeasure, he was the more ready to make his excuse against the same.

Then was my lord advertised that he should prepare himselfe to goe into the chamber of presence, there to attend the kings comming, who was disposed there to talke with him. The other cardinall came into my lords chamber, and bothe together went into the said chamber of presence, where the lordes of the counsell stode all in a rowe in order along the chamber. My lord cardinall, putting off his cappe, spake to every of them most gently, and soe did they no lesse to him: at which time the chamber was furnished with noblemen and gentlemen, and others, that expected the meting, countenaunce, and enterteinement of the king towardes my lord cardinall.

Then immediately after, the king came into the chamber of presence, and standing under the clothe of estate, my lord cardinall toke cardinall Campaigne by the hande, and kneled downe before the king: but what he said unto unto him I know not: neverthelesse the king, as amyably as ever he did before, stooped downe, and with bothe his handes toke him up, and after toke him aside by the hand, and led him to the windowe, where he talked with him.

Then, to behold the countenaunce of the noblemen and others, that had made their wagers, it would have made you smile; and specially of those

those that laid their money, that the king would not speake with him. Thus were they deceived. The king was in earnest and long communication with him, in so much as I might heare the king say, "How can that be; is not this your owne hand?" and pulled a letter or writing out of his bosome, and shewed the same to my lord; and as I perceived my lord aunswered the same, that the king had no more to say; but said to him, "My lord goe to dinner, and call my lordes here to keepe you company; and after dinner I will come to you againe, and then we will common further with you;" and so departed, and dined himselfe that day, with Mrs. Anne Bullen in her chamber.

Then was there set up in the chamber of presence a table for my lord, and other lordes of the counsell, where they dined together, sitting at dinner and commoning of divers matters. "The king should doe well," quoth my lord cardinall, "to send his bishops and chapleines home to their cures and benefices." "Yea Mary," quoth my lord of Norfolke, "and so it were mete for you to doe also." "I should be well content therewith," quoth my lord, "if it were the kings pleasure to licence me, with his graces favor, to goe to my benefice at Winchester." "Nay," quoth my lord of Norfolke, "to your benefice at Yorke, whereas is your greatest honor and charge." "Even as it shall please the king," quoth my lord cardinall, and so fell into other matters. For the lordes were lothe he should be so neare the king as to continue at Winchester. Immediately after dinner they fell to counsell untill the waiters had dined.

And as I heard it reported by them that waited on the king at dinner, Mistress Anne Bullen was much offended, as farre as she durst, that the king did so gently entertaine my lord cardinall, saying as

as she sat with the king at dinner, in communication of my lord, "Sir," quoth she, "is it not a marvellous thing to see, what debt and danger he hath brought you in with all your subjects?" "How soe sweeteharte?" quoth the king, "Forsothe," quoth she, "there is not a man within all your realme, worth five pounds, but he hath indebted you to him;" (meaning a loane which the king had of his subjects). "Well," quoth the king, "as for that, there was in him no blame; for I know that matter better than you, or any other." "Nay Sir," quoth she, "besides that, what things hath he wrought within this realme to your great slander? There is never a nobleman, but if he had done halfe so much as *he* hath done, he were well worthy to lose his heade. Yea, if my lord of Norfolke, my lord of Suffolke, my lord my father, or any other nobleman within your realme, had done much lesse than he hath done, they should have lost their heades 'care this."

"Then I perceive," quoth the king, "you are not the cardinalls friende?" "Why sir," saith she, "I have no cause, nor any that loveth you: no more have your grace, if ye consider well his doings."

By that time the waiters toke up the table, and so ended their communication. Nowe ye may perceive howe the olde malice began to kindle, and to be set on fire, which was as much provoked by his auncient enemies (of whome I touched the cause, and named to you the persons before in this treatise) as of herselfe.

Well there is no more to doe, but after all this communication, and the dinner thus ended, the king departed from her, and went directly into his chamber of presence, whereas my lord, and the other lords were attending his comming. And when

when the king was come into the chamber of presence, he called my lord unto him into the great windowe, and talked with him a while very secreetely And at the last, the king tooke him by the hand, and led him into his privy chamber, sitting in consultation with him there all alone consulting without any other of the lords of the counsell, untill it was dark night; which blancked his enemies very sore, and made them to stirre coals; and being in doubt of themselves, they had no other refuge but Mistress Anne, in whome was all their whole truste and affiaunce, to the accomplishing of their enterprize; for without her they doubted all their purpose was but frustrate.

Then was I warned that there was no roome for my lord in the courte; and so was faine to provide him a lodging in the country there about, which I found at a house of Mr. Empson's, called Euston, about three miles from Grafton, whether my lord came to supper, by torche light, it was so late ere he departed from the king. At whose departing the king willed him to resorte againe the sooner in the morning, for that he would talke with him farther in such matters as they had commoned on before.

After my lord was departed from the king, and come to Euston to his lodging, he had to supper with him diverse of his freindes of the court; and sitting at supper, in came doctor Stephens, the King's Secretary, whoe was late ambassador to Rome; but to what intent I know not: howbeit my lorde toke it, that he came either to dissemble a love towards him, or else to espy his behaviour, and to heare his communication at supper. Whereupon my lorde went to him, and bade him welcome, and willed him to sit downe at the table to supper, having all his communication with him, under this manner.

manner. "Mr. Secretary," quoth he, "ye be welcome home from Rome; when came he ye home?" Forsoothe," quoth he, "I came home almost a monthe ago." "And where have you bine," quoth my lord, "ever since?" "Forsoothe sir, quoth he, "following the court in this progresse." "Then have you hunted, and had great pastime," quoth my lord. "So I have had sir," quoth he. "What good great houndes have you?" quoth my lord? "I have some, sir," quoth he. And thus in hunting, and like disportes, passed they all their communication at supper; and after supper my lord and he talked secretly together, till it was midnight ere they sundred.

The next morning my lord rose earely and rode to the courte; at whose comming the King was ready to ride, willing my lord to counsell with the lordes in his absence, and saide he would not tarry with him, commanding my lord to retourne againe with cardinall Campaigne, who had taken his leave of the king. Upon which occasion my lord was constrained to take his leave of the king also, with whome the king departed amyably in the sight of all men. This sodein departing in the morning was by the especiall labour of Mrs. Anne, who rode with him, only to lead him away, because he should not retourne until the departure of the cardinalls, the which retourned after dinner to the moore.

The king rode that morning to view a place and ground to make a newe parke, which was afterwardes, and is at this day called Harewell Parke, where Mistress Anne had provided a place for his Grace to dine, fearing his retourne, ere the cardinalls were gone.

Then rode my lorde and the other cardinalls after dinner on their way homewarde, and so came to

to St. Albones, and there lay one day; and the next day they rode together to the Moore; and from thence cardinall Campeignes toke his journey towards Rome, with the kings rewarde; but what it was I am uncertaine. Nevertheless, after their departure, it was reported to the king by the counsell, that cardinall Campeigne was departed, and carried with him great treasures of my lord cardinalls of England, to be conveied in great sommes to Rome, whither they surmised he would secretely repaire out of this realme. Insomuch as they caused a post to ride after the cardinall to search him. And when they overtoke him at Callis, where he was staied untill search was made, there was not found so much money as he received of the kings rewarde; and so he was dismissed and went his way.

And after that cardinall Campeigne was thus departed and gone, Michelmas terme drewe on, against which time my lord cardinall resorted unto his house at Westminster; and when the tearme began, he went unto the hall, in such like sorte and gesture as he accustomed most commonly to doe, and sat in the chauncery being then chauncellor. After which day he never sate more. The next day he tarried at home, expecting the comming of the dukes of Suffolke and Norfolke, who came not that day; but the next day they came thither unto him; to whom they declared the kings pleasure; which was that he should surrender and deliver up the great seale into their hands, and to departe simply unto Ashere, which was an house scituate nighe unto Hampton Courte, belonging to the bishopricke of Winchester. The cardinall demanded of them their commision, that gave them such authority so to doe; who aunswered him againe, that they were sufficient commisioners,

misioners, and had authority to doe no lesse by the kings mouthe. Notwithstanding he would in no wise agree to their saying in that behalfe, without further knowledge of their authority, saying also, that for the greate seale, it was delivered him by the kings person to enjoye the ministration thereof, with the rome of the chauncellor, for terme of his life, whereof for his surety he had the kings letters patent to shewe. Which matter was greatly debated betweene him and the dukes, with many great and heinous wordes, all which he toke in patience; insomuch that the dukes were faine to departe againe without their purpose, at that time; and rode to Windsor to the king from whence they came. And what reporte they made, I am uncertaine; howbeit, the next daye they retourned againe from Windsor, from the king, bringing with them the king's letters.

Then my lorde delivered unto them the great seale, and was content to obey the kings commandement, and to departe simply, taking with him nothing but only certaine provision for his house; saying that the king intended to come thither within two or three daies.

And after longe talke between him and the dukes, they departed with the great seale of Englande unto Windsore, and brought the same unto the king. Then went my lord cardinall, and called his officers before him, and toke account of them for all suche stuffe and things whereof they had charge. And in his gallery were set divers tables, whereupon lay a great number of goodly riche stuffes; as whole pieces of silke of all coulores, velvet, satten, damask, tufted taffeta, grograine, sarcenet, and other things, now not in remembrance; also there lay on these tables a thousand pieces of fine holland clothe, whereof as he reported

ported after, there was five hundred of the said pieces of clothe stolne, and conveied away from the king and him; yet there was laide upon every table, bokes, made in manner of inventories, reporting the number and contents of the same. And even so there were bokes made in manner of inventories of all things here after rehearsed, wherein he toke great paines to set all things in order against the king's comming. Also he hanged all the walls of the gallery on the one side, with clothe of golde, clothe of tyssewe, clothe of silver, and with riche clothe of bodkin [2] of divers colours. Also on the other side were hanged the richest suite of copes of his owne provision (made for his colledges of Oxenforde and Ipswiche) that ever I sawe in Englande. Then had he two chambers adjoyning to the gallery, the one called most commonly the *gilt chamber*, and the other the *counsell chamber*, wherein were set up two broade and long tables, upon tressles, whereupon was set suche a number of plate of all sortes, as was almost incredible. In the *gilt chamber* were set out upon the table nothing but gilt plate; and upon a cupboarde, and in a windowe was set no plate but all gold very riche. And in the *counsell chamber* was all white and parcell gilt plate; and under the table in baskets was all olde broken silver plate, not esteemed worthy to be occupied, as plate, but as broken silver; and bokes set bye them, purporting every kinde of plate, and every parcell, with the content of the ounces thereof.

[2] *Clothe of bodkin.*] "Baudekyn, *Cloth of Gold.*" Phillip's *World of Words.* "Baldekinum—pannus omnium ditissimus cujus utpote stamen ex filis *auri*, subtegmen ex *serico* texitur. *Clothe of Baudkins* dicitur in statutis Parliamentariis nostris." Watts's Glossary, subjoined to his edition of Matthew Paris.

Thus

Thus was all things furnished and prepared, giving the charge of all the saide stuffe with all other thiugs remaining in every office to be delivered to the king, as well unto diverse persons, in whom he put his trust, as to one in especiall of his officers, in every office of his house, to make aunswer to their charge, charged in their indenture of the parcells; for the order was suche, that every officer was charged with the receipt of the stuffe belonging to their office by indenture.

Then all things being ordered as it is before rehearsed, my lord prepared him to departe by water. And before his going, sir William Gascoigne, being his treasurer, came unto him, to whom he gave, among other, the charge of the delivery of the saide goods, to be delivered unto the king, who saide unto the cardinall, then being his lord and master, "Sir," quoth he, "I am sorry for your grace, for ye shall go straightway to the Tower, as I heard say." "Is this the goode counsell, and comforte," quoth my lord cardinall unto him, "that you can give your master in adversity? It hath alwaies been your naturall inclination to be very lighte of credite; and much more lighter of reporting lies. I would you should knowe, Sir William, and all these reporters, that it is untrue; for I never deserved to come there, although it hath pleased the king, to take my house redy furnished for his pleasure at this time. I would all the world knewe that I have nothing, but it is *his* of right; for by him, and of him, I have received all that I have; therefore it is of convenience and reason, that I render unto his majesty the same againe, with all my harte. Therefore goe your waies, and attend well to your charge." And therewithall he made him ready to ride; and then with his traine of gentlemen and yeomen, whiche

was

was no small number, he toke his barge at his privy staires, and so went by water unto Putney. At the taking whereof, there was walking up and downe on the Thames boates filled with people of London, expecting the cardinalls departing by water, supposing that he should have gone to the Towre, whereat they joied very much.

O wavering and new fangled multitude! Is it not a wonder to consider the mutability of this uncertaine worlde! The common people desireth allwaies those things for the newelties sake, which after turneth them to small profit or commodity. For if the sequell be well and directly weighed and considered, they had but small cause to rejoice at his fall. What hath succeeded wise men doe knowe, and the common sorte themselves have felt. Wherefore to wonder at it, it were but a folly; to study the remedy it profiteth not; for thus it hath ever bene, and will alwaies; do what you will to redresse the same, it botethe not. I cannot see, but alwaies men in authority be disdained with the common sorte of people; and they most of all, that doe observe and minister justice. For where they please some one that receiveth the benefit of the lawe at their hands according to justice, they doe in likewise displease the contrary parte, supposing himselfe to sustaine wrong, where he hath righte. Thus all justices be in some contempt with the people allwaies, for the ministration of their duty. Yet must some such be alwaies elected and deputed soe to doe; for else, if the world should be without inquisitors and order, there should be too much error and abomination.

When he was with all his traine arrived at Putney, being upon the lande, he toke his moile, and every man to their horses. And riding not paste a paire of butt lengths, he espied a gentleman

come riding in poste downe the hill, in the towne of Putney, and demanding of his gentlemen aboute him, what *he* was, that came riding downe so faste, "Forsoothe sir," quoth they, "it is Mr. Norris, as it seemeth to us." And by and by he came to my lord saluting him, and sayd, "Sir, the kings majesty commendeth him unto you, and commaunded me to shewe you, that you be as muche in his favor as ever you were, and so shall be. Therefore he would that you should be of good cheere, and take no thought, for ye shall not lacke. And although he hath done thus unkindly towards you, it is more for the satisfying of some, than for any indignation: and yet you knowe well, he is able to recompence you againe, and to restore you to twise so much; and thus he bad me, that I should shewe you, and willed me to bid you to take all this matter in patience. And sir, for my parte, I trust to see you in better estate, than ever you were." But when he had heard Mr. Norris reporte the good and comfortable words of the king, he quickly lighted off his mule, all alone, as thoughe he had bine the youngest amongst us, and incontinent kneeled downe in the dirte upon bothe his knees, holding up his hands for joye of the kings most comfortable message. Mr. Norris alighted also, espying him so sone upon his knees, and kneeled by him, and toke him in his armes, and asked howe he did, calling upon him to credite his message. "Mr. Norris," quoth he, "when I consider the joyfull newes that yee have brought to me, I could doe no lesse than greatly rejoice. Your wordes pierced my harte, that the sodain joye, surmounted my memory, having no regarde or reflecte to the place, but I thought it my duty, in the same place where I received this comforte, to laude and praise God upon my knees, and most humbly

humbly to render to my soveraigne lorde my harty thanks for the same."

And as he was thus talking upon his knees to Mr. Norris, he would have pulled off a velvet night cap, which he wore under his black hat, and scarlet cap; but he could not undoe the knot under his chin; wherefore with violence he rent the laces of his cap, and pulled his said cap from his head, and kneeled bare headed. And this done, he rose up and mounted upon his mule, and so rode forthe up the high waye in the towne, talking with Mr. Norris. And when he came unto Putney Heathe, where Mr. Norris should departe from him, Mr. Norris gave him a ring of gold with a stone, and sayd unto him, that the king sent him the same for token of good will, "which ringe," quothe he, "the king saithe you knowe very well." It was the privy token between the king and him, when the king would have any especiall thing sped at his hands. Then saide he to Mr. Norris, "If I were Lorde of a realme, the one halfe were too small a rewarde to give you for your paines, and good newes. But, good Mr. Norris, consider with me, that I have nothinge lefte me but my clothes upon my backe. Therefore I shall desire you to take this small rewarde at my hands;" the which was a little chaine of gold, made like a bottle chaine, with a crosse of gold, wherein was a piece of the *Holy Crosse*, which he continually ware about his necke next his body; and saide furthermore, "Master Norris, I assure you, when I was in prosperity, although it seme but small in valeue, yet I would not gladly have departed with the same for a thousand poundes. Therefore I shall require you to take it in good worthe, and to weare it about your necke continually for my sake, and to remember me to the king when ye shall see opportunity,

tunity, unto whose Highness I shall most instantly require you, to have me most humbly commended; for whose charitable disposition to me, I can but pray for the preservation of his royall estate. I am his obedient subject, his poore chaplaine, and beadman, and so will be during my life, accompting myselfe nothinge, nor to have any thinge, but only of him and by him, whome I have justly and truely served, to the beste of my grosse wit." And with that he toke Master Norris by the hand bareheaded, and so departed. And when he was gone but a small distance, he returned againe, and caused Mr. Norris to be called to him. When Master Norris was returned, he said unto him, "I am sorry," quothe he, "that I have no token to send to the king. But if you will at my request present the king, with this poore Foole, I trust he will accept him, for he is, for a nobleman's pleasure, forsoothe, worthe a thousand poundes."

So Master Norris toke the Foole; with whom my Lord was faine to send sixe of his tallest yeomen, to helpe him to convaie the Foole to the courte; for the poore Foole toke on like a tyrant, rather than he would have departed from my Lord. Notwithstanding they convaied him away, and so brought him to the courte, where the king received him very gladly. After departure of Master Norris with his token to the kinge, my Lorde rode straight to Ashur, which is an house belonging to the Bishopricke of Winchester, situate in the county of Surry, not farre from Hampton Courte, where my Lord and his family continued the space of three or fowre weekes, without either beds, sheets, table clothes, or dishes to eat their meete in, or wherewith to buy any. Howbeit, there was good provision of all kind of victualls, and of drinke, as bere and wine, whereof there was sufficient and

plenty

plenty enough. My Lord was compelled of necessity to borrowe of Mr. Arundell, and of the Bishop of Carlile, plate and dishes, bothe to drinke in, and to eate his meate in. Thus my Lord with his family continued in this strange estate, untill after All-hallowne tide.

It chaunced me upon All-hallowne day to come into the *Great Chamber* at Assher, in the morning, to give mine attendance, where I found Mr. Cromwell leaning in the great windowe, with a Primer in his hand, saying our Lady mattens; which had bine a strange sight in him afore. Well what will you have more? He prayed no more earnestly, than he distilled teares as fast from his eyes. Whom I saluted, and bad good morrowe. And with that I perceived his moist chekes, the which he wiped with his napkine. To whom I saide, "Why Mr. Cromewell, what meaneth this dole? Is my Lord in any danger, that ye doe lament for him? or is it for any other losse, that ye have sustained by misfortune?"

"Nay," quoth he, "it is for my unhappy adventure. For I am like to lose all that I have laboured for, all the daies of my life, for doing of my master true and diligent service." "Why Sir," quoth I, "I trust that you be too wise, to do any thing by my Lord's commaundement, otherwise than ye might doe, whereof you ought to be in doubt or daunger for losse of your goods." "Well, well," quoth he, "I cannot tell; but this I see before mine eyes, that every thing is as it is taken; and this I knowe well, that I am disdained withal for my master's sake; and yet I am sure there is no cause, why they should doe so. An evill name once gotten will not lightly be put away. I never had promotion by my Lord to the encrease of my living. But this much I will say to you, that I will

will this afternoone, when my Lord hath dined, ride to London, and so to the Courte, where I will either make or marre, or ever I come againe. I will put myselfe in prease, to see what they be able to lay to my charge." "Mary," quoth I, "then in so doing you shall doe wisely, beseeching God to send you good lucke, as I would myselfe." And with that I was called into the closet, to see and prepare all things ready for my Lord, whoe intended to say masse there that day himselfe; and so I did.

Then my Lord came thither with his chaplaine, one Doctor Marshall, and first said mattens, and heard two masses in the time of his mattens saying. And that sayd, he prepared himselfe to masse; and so saide masse himselfe. And when he had finished all his service, incontinent after he was returned into his chamber, he called for his dinner, who was served into his privy chamber, and there dined among diverse his doctors, among whome this Master Cromwell dined; and sitting at dinner, it came to passe [that he fell] in communication of his gentlemen and servaunts, whose true and faithfull service my Lord much commended. Whereupon Mr. Cromwell toke an occasion to tell my Lord, that he ought in conscience to consider the true and good service that they did him, in this his necessity, the which doe never forsake him in weale ne in woe, and saide,

"Sir, it should be well done for your Grace to call them before you, bothe gentlemen which be worthy personnages, and also your yeomen, and let them understande, that ye righte well consider their paines and truthe with their faithful service; and to give them your commendation, with good words, the which shall be to them great courage to

sustaine

sustaine your misery with paines and patience, and to spend their life and substance in your service."

"Alas Thomas," quoth my Lord, "ye knowe I have nothing to give them, and wordes without deeds be not often well taken. For if I had but as I late had, I would departe with them so frankely, as they should be well contente: but nothing, hath no savor; and I am bothe ashamed, and also sorry that I am not able to requite their faithful service. And although I doe rejoice as I may, to consider the fidelity I see in a number of my servants, who will not forsake me in my miserable estate, but be as diligent and as serviceable about me as they were in my great triumphe and glory, yet I doe lament againe, as vehemently, the want of substance, to distribute among them." "Why Sir," quoth Master Cromewell, "have ye not here a number of chapleines, to whom ye have departed liberally with spirituall promotions, in so much as some may dispend, by your Grace's preferment, a thousand pounds by yeare, and some five hundred marks, and some more and some lesse; you have not a chapleine within all your house, or belonging to you, but he may spend well at the least (by your procurement and promotion) three hundred markes yearely, who have had all the profit and gaines at your handes, and other your servauntes nothing: and yet have your poore servauntes taken much more paines in one day, than all your idle chapleines have done in a yeare. Therefore if they will not frankely and freely consider your liberallity, and departe with you of the same goods gotten in your service, now in your great indigence and necessity, it is pitty that they live; and all the world will have them in indignation and hatred, for their ingratitude to their master."

"I think no lesse Thomas," quoth my Lord, where-

wherefore, I pray you, cause all my servants to assemble without, in my great chamber, after dinner, and see them stand in order, and I will declare my mind unto them." After that the borde's end was taken up Master Cromewell came to me, and saide "Heard you not," quoth he, "what my Lord saide?" "Yes Sir, that I did," quoth I. "Well then," quoth he, "call all the gentlemen and yeomen up into the great chamber;" and even so I did, commanding all the gentlemen to stand on the right side of the chamber, and all the yeomen on the other side. And at the laste my Lord came out in his Rochet upon a violet gowne, like a Bishop, who went streight to the upper ende of the saide chamber, where was the great windowe. Standing there a while, his chapleins about him, beholding this goodly number of his servants, he could not speake unto them, untill the teares ran downe his chekes: which fewe teares perceived by his servants, caused the fountaines of water to gusshe out of their faithfull eyes, in such sorte as it would cause a cruell harte to lament. At the last, after he had turned his face to the windowe, and dried his moisted chekes, he spake to them in this sorte in effect; "Most faithfull gentlemen, and true harted yeomen, I doe not lament to see you about me, but I lament in a manner a certaine ingratitude on my behalfe towards you all, in whome hath bin a great defaulte, that in my prosperity I have not done so much for you, as I might have done, either in deede or worde, which lay in my power then to doe: but then I knewe not the juell and speciall treasure I had in my house of you my faithful servants; but now experience hath taught me, and with the eyes of my discretion I doe well perceive the same. There was never thing that repented me more that ever I did, than doeth the

remem-

remembraunce of my great and most oblivious negligence and unkinde ingratitude, that I have not promoted, preferred or advaunced you all, accordinge to your demerits. Howbeit, it is not unknowne unto you all, that I was not so fully furnished of temporall promotions in my gifte, as I was of spirituall preferrments. And if I should have preferred you to any of the king's offices, then should I have runne in the indignation of the king's servants, who would not much let to reporte behinde my backe that there could no office in the king's gifte escape the Cardinall and his servants, and thus should I have runne in open slaunder before all the world. But now it is come to this passe, that it hath pleased the king to take all that ever I have into his hands, so that I have nothing to give you; for I have nothing lefte me but my bare clothes upon my backe, the which are simple in comparison to that I had: howbeit if it might doe you any good, I would not sticke to divide the same among you, yea, and the skine of my backe too, if it might countervaile any value among you. But my good gentlemen and yeomen, my trusty and faithful servaunts, and of whome no prince hath the like, I shall require you to take some patience with me awhile, for I doubt not but that the kinge, considering my suggested offence by mine enemies, which is put against me, to be of small griefe or hurte, for so great and soddaine an overthrowe, will shortely restore me to my living, so that I shall be more able to divide my substance among you, whereof ye shall not lacke. For what-soever shall chaunce hereafter to be an overplus and superfluity of my revenewes, at the determination of my yearely accompt, it shall be distributed among you. For I will never during my life esteeme the goods and riches of this world any other-

otherwise than which shall be sufficient to maine-taine the estate that God hath and shall call me unto. And if the kinge doe not shortly restore me, then will I write for you, either to the king, or to any noble man within this realme, to retaine your service; for I doubt not but the kinge or any noble man within this realme, will credite my letter in your commendation. Therefore, in the mean time, I would advise you to repaire home to your wives, such as have wives; and some of you that have no wives, to take a time to visit your parents in the country. There is none of you all, but would once in a yeare, require license to see and visit your wife, and other of your friends: take this time therefore in that respect, and in your retourne I will not refuse you, to beg with you. I consider that your service in my house hath been such, that ye be not apt to serve any man under the degree of a King; therefore I would advise you to serve no man but the King, who I am sure will not refuse you. Therefore I shall desire you to take your pleasure for a month, and then ye may come againe, and by that time, I trust the king will extend his mercy upon me." "Sir," quoth Master Cromewell, "there be diverse of these your yeomen, that would be glad to see their friends, but they lacke money: therefore here be diverse of your Chapleines that have received at your hands great benefices and livings; let them shew themselves unto you as they be bound to doe. I think their honesty and charity is such that they will not see you lacke any thing that may doe you good or pleasure. And for my parte, although I have not received of your Graces gifte one penny towards the increase of my livinge, yet will I give you this towards the dispatch of your servantes," and therewith delivered unto my Lord

five

five pounds in gold. "And now let us see what your Chapleines will doe. I think they will departe with you, much more liberally than I, who be more able to give you a pound than I a penny." "Goe to, my Masters," quoth he to the Chapleines: insomuch as they gave to my Lord liberally, some ten pounds, some twenty nobles, some five pounds, and so some more and some lesse, as their powers would extend, at that time; by means whereof my Lord received among them as much as paid the yeomen ten shillings the pece towardes their quarters wages, and as much money as would pay every of them for a monthes borde wages; and then they departed downe into the Hall, where some determined to goe to their friends, and some would not departe from my Lorde, untill they might see him in better estate. My Lord retourned into his chamber lamenting the departure from his servants, making his mone to Master Cromewell, who comforted him the best he could, and desired my Lord to give him leave to goe to London, whereas he would *either make or marre* (the which was alwaies his common terme). Then after a little communication with my Lord in secret, he departed and toke his horse, and rode to London, at whose departinge I was by, to whome he saide, "Farewell, ye shall heare shortly of mee, and if I speede well, I will not faile to be here againe, within these two daies." And so I toke my leave of him, and he rode on his journey. Sir Rafe Sadler, now Knight, was then his Clerke, and rode with him.

After my Lord had supped that night, and all men gonne to bed, being All-hallowne day, about midnight, one of the porters came to my chamber dore, and knocked there to wake me. And being once awake, and perceiving who was there, I asked

ed him, what he would have at that time of the night? "Sir," quoth he, "there be a great number of horsemen at the gate, that would come in, saying that it is Sir John Russell, and so it appeares by his voice; and what is your pleasure that I should doe?" saide he. "Mary," quoth I, "goe downe againe, and make a great fire in your lodge, until I come, to drie them;" for it rained all that nighte most vehemently, as it did at any time the yeare before. Then I arose and made me ready, and put on my night gowne, and came to the gates, and asked who was there. With that Mr. Russel spake to me, whom I knewe right well, and caused the gates to be set open, and let them all come in, who were wet to the very skin. I caused Mr. Russel to goe into the porter's lodge to the fire to drie him; and he shewed me that he was come from the King unto my Lord in message, with whom he required me to speake. "Sir," quoth I, "I trust your newes be good." "Yea, and so I promise you on my fidelity; and so tell him, that I have brought him such newes, as will please him right well." "Well then, I will goe," quoth I, "and wake him, and cause him to rise." I went incontinent to my Lord's chamber dore, and knocked there, so that my Lord spake to me, and asked me what I would have. With that I tould him of the comming of Sir John Russell; and then he called up to him one of his gromes to let me in; and when I was come to him, I tould him againe of the journey that Sir John Russell had taken that troublesome night. "I pray God all be for the beste," quoth he. "Yes Sir," quoth I, "he shewed me, and so bade me tell you, that he had brought suche newes, as you would greatly rejoice thereat." "Well then," quoth he, "God be praised, and wellcome be his grace! Go ye and

fetch

fetch him to me, and by that time I will be ready to talke with him."

Then I returned into the lodge, and brought Mr. Russell from thence unto my Lord, who had cast about him his night gowne. And when Mr. Russel was come before him, he most humbly reverenced him, upon his knees, whome my Lord stowped unto, and toke him up, and bade him welcome. "Sir," quoth he, "the King commendeth him unto you;" and delivered him a great ring of gold with a Turkeis, for a token; "and willed me, to bid you be of good cheere; for he loveth you as well as ever he did, and is sorry for your trouble, whose minde runneth muche upon you. Insomuch that before his Grace sat downe to supper, he called me unto him, and desired me to take the paines secretly to visite you, and to comforte you the best of my powre. And Sir, I have had the sorest journey for so little a way, that ever I had to my remembraunce."

My Lord thanked him for his paines and good newes, and demaunded of him if he had supped; and he saide "Nay." "Well then," quoth my Lord, "cause the cookes to provide some meate for him; and cause a chamber to be provided for him, that he may take his rest awhile upon a bed." All which commaundement I fulfilled, and in the meane time my Lord, and Master Russell were in secret communication; and in the ende, Master Russell went to his chamber, taking his leave of my Lord, and saide he would tarry but a while, for he would be at the courte at Greenwiche againe before day, and would not for any thing that it were knowne, that he had bin with my Lorde that night. And so being in his chamber, having a small repaste, he rested him a while upon a bed, whiles his servauntes supped and dried them; and that

that done, incontinent he rode away againe with speede to the courte. And after this within a while, my Lord was restored to plate vessells, and householde stuffe, of every thing necessary some parte, so that he was better furnished than before.

Now let us retourne againe to Master Cromewell to see how he hath spedde, since he departed. The case stode so, that the parliament should begin *crastino animarum*, or there abouts, and he being within London devised with himself to be one of the Burgesses of the Parliament, and chaunced to meete with one Sir Thomas Rush, knighte, a speciall freind of his, whose son was appointed to be a Burgess, of whome he obtained his rome, and so put his fete into the Parliament house; so that within two or three daies after his departure from my Lord, he came againe to Asshere, with a pleasaunte countenaunce, and saide to me, that he had once adventured to put in his feete, where he would be better regarded, or ever the Parliament were finished. Then talked he with my Lorde, and after his talke he rode againe to London, because he would not be absent from the Parliament. There was nothing done against him in the Parliament house, but he sent to my Lorde to knowe what answer he might make in his behalfe; insomuch that there was nothing alleadged against my Lord, but that he was ready to make aunswer thereto; insomuch that at the length his honest estimation, and earnest behaviour in his Master's cause, grewe so in every man's opinion, that he was reputed the most faithful servant to his master of all other, wherein he was greatly of all men commended.

Then was there brought in a Bill of Articles into the parliament house to have my Lord condemned of treason; against which bill Mr. Cromewell inveighed

veighed so discreetly, with such witty persuasions and depe reasons, that the same could take no effect. Then were his enemies constrained to indight him in a *premunire*, and all was to intitle the King to his goods and possessions, the which he had obtained and purchased for the maintenance of his colledges in Oxonforde and Ipswiche, whereof he was then in building in the most sumptuous wise. Wherein when my Lord was demaunded by the Judges, which were sent unto him to knowe his mind, and to take his aunswer therein, he aunswered them in this wise, "My Lordes Judges," quoth he, "the Kings Highness knoweth, whether I have offended his Majesty or no, in using of my prerogative legantine, for which I am indighted. I have the King's license in my coffers under his hande and broad seale for the exercising and using thereof, in the most largeste wise; the which now are in the hands of my ennemies. Therefore, because I will not stande in question with the Kinge in his owne cause, I will here presently confesse before you the indightment, and put me wholly into the mercy and grace of the Kinge, trusting that he hath a conscience and a discretion to consider the truthe, and my humble submission and obedience; wherein I might right well stand to the triall thereof by justice. But thus much ye may say to his Highness, that I am wholly under his obedience, and will; and doe submit myselfe to all things that shall be his princely pleasure, whose will and commaundement I never disobeied or repugned, but was alwaies contented and glad to please him before God, whom I ought most chiefely to have obeied; the which now me repents. Notwithstanding, I most hartely require you, to have me unto his royall Majestie comended, for whome I doe and will, during my life, pray to God,

God, to send him much prosperity, honnor, and victory over his enemies." And therewith they, toke their leave, and departed.

Shortly after the King sent the Duke of Norfolk unto him in message; but what it was I am not certaine; therefore I omit to speake thereof. But my Lord being advertised, that my Lord of Norfolke was comming even at hand, he caused all his gentlemen to waite upon him downe through the Hall into the Base Courte, to receive the Duke at the gates; and commaunded all his yeomen to stand in order still in the Hall. And he himselfe, with all his gentlemen, went to the gates, where he received my Lord of Norfolke bareheaded; who imbraced each other; and so led him by the arm through the Hall into his chamber. And when the Duke had passed through unto the upper end of the Hall, regarding the number of tall yeomen that stood on each side thereof; he tourned againe to the yeomen, and saide, "Sirs," quoth he, "your dilligent and faithful service unto your master in this his calamity, hath purchased you of all men, noble and ignoble, much honesty; in so much that the King comaunded me to say to you in his name, that for your true and lovinge service that ye have done to your master, his Highness will see you all at any time furnished with services, according to your demerits." With that my Lorde put offe his cappe, and saide to my Lord of Norfolke; "Sir," quoth he, "these men be all approved men: wherefore it were pitty they should want any service; and being sorry that I am not able to doe for them, as my harte wisheth, I will therefore require you, my good Lord, to be good Lord unto them, and extend your charity among them, where and when ye shall see occasion, at any time heareafter; and that ye will preferre their dilligence and faithfull

full service unto the King." "Doubt you not my Lord," quoth my Lord of Norfolke, "but I will doe for them the beste in my powre; and whereas I shall see cause, I will be an earnest suter for them to the King; and some of you I will retaine my selfe in service for right honest men. And as ye have begone, so continue, untill ye heare more of the King's pleasure. God's blessing and mine be with you!" And so went up into the great chamber to dinner, whom my Lord Cardinall thanked, and saide unto him, "Yet my Lord, of all other noble men, I have most cause to thanke you for your noble and gentle harte, the which you have shewed me behinde my backe, as my servante Thomas Cromwell well hath reported unto me. But even as ye be a noble man in dede, so have you shewed yourselfe no lesse to all men in calamity, and in especiall to me, whome ye have brought downe, from my high estate, but now againe, being in this my miserable estate, you have extended your favour most honorably with great charity. Ye doe right well deserve to beare in your armes the noble and gentle Lion, having the very property of the lion, whose naturall property is, when he hath vanquished a cruell beaste, and seeth him yelded, lying prostrate before him under his feete, then will he be mercifull unto him, and doe him no more harte, ne suffer any ravenous beast to devour him: all whose naturall inclination ye have; where I may say these verses in your commendation,

Parcere prostratis scit nobilis ira leonis:
Tu quoque fac simile, quisquis regnabis in orbe."

With these words the water was brought them to washe; to the which my Lorde called my Lorde of Norfolke, to washe with him: but he refused so

to doe of curtesy, and saide, "that it became him no more to presume to washe with him now, than it did before[z]." "Yes," quoth my Lord, "for my legacy is gone, wherein stode all my high honnor." "A strawe," quoth my Lord of Norfolke, "for your legacy. I never esteemed your honnor the higher for that. But I esteemed your honnor, for that ye were Archbishop of Yorke, and a Cardinall, whose estate and honor surmounteth any Duke within this realm, and even so will I honnor you, and acknowledge the same, in doing you reverence and honnor accordingly. Therefore contente you, I will not presume to washe with you; and therefore I pray you hold me excused." Then was my Lord compelled to wash all alone; and when he had done, then my Lord of Norfolke washed by himselfe. That done, my Lord Cardinall would have had him sit downe on the chaire, in the inner side of the table, but he refused the same with much humbleness. Then was there another chaire set for my Lorde of Norfolke, over against my Lord Cardinall, on the outside of the table, the which he caused to be based something beneathe, and would not sit directly against my Lord: having all their communication

[z] *Than it did before.*] During the visit of the Emperor Charles V. to Henry VIII. "on Monday at nine of the clocke at night, was begun a banquet, which endured till the next morning at three of the clocke, at the which banquet the Emperor, the King, and the Queene did wash together, the Duke of Buckingham giving the water, the Duke of Suffolke holding the towel. Next them did washe *the Lord Cardinall*, the Queene of Fraunce, and the Queene of Aragon. At which banquet the Emperor kept the estate, the king sitting on the left hand, next him the French Queene; and on the other side sate the Queene, *the Cardinall*, and the Queene of Aragon; which banquet was served by the Emperor's owne servants." Stowe's *Annals*. p. 510. edit. 1615.

of

of the dilligent service of the gentlemen, who waited upon him there at dinner, and how much the King and all the other Lordes did esteeme and commend them in so doing; and how little they are regarded in the courte that are come to the King's service, and have forsaken their master in this time of necessity; whereof some he blamed by name. And thus their dinner and conversation ended, they rose and went into my Lorde's Privy Chamber, where they continued in consultation. And being there, it chaunced Mr. Shelley, the Judge, came thither, who was sent from the King; whereof relation was made to my Lord, which caused the Duke and him to break up their communication; and the Duke desired to goe to a chamber, to repose him there for a while. And comming forthe of my Lorde's chamber, he met with Mr. Shelley, to whome Mr. Shelley resorted, and after he had made relation of the cause of his comming, he desired my Lorde of Norfolke to tarry and to assist him in doing of his message; whom he denied and saide, "I have nothing to doe with your message, wherein I will not meddle;" and so departed into a chamber, where he toke his rest for an houre or two. And in the mean time my Lorde issued out of his Privy Chamber, and came to Mr. Shelley, to knowe his message. Who, after due salutation, did declare unto him, the King's pleasure was to have my Lorde's house, called York Place nere Westminster, belonging to the bishopricke of Yorke, and to possess the same according to the lawes of his realme. "His Highness hath sent for all the Judges, and all the learned counsaile, to knowe their opinions for the assurance thereof; whose opinions be fully resolved, that your Grace must make a recognisaunce, and before a Judge acknowledge and confesse the right

thereof to belong to the King and his successors; and so his Highness shall be assured thereof. Wherefore it hath pleased the King to appoint and send me hither, to take of you the same recognisaunce, having in your Grace such affiaunce, as that ye will not refuse soe to doe. Therefore I shall desire your Grace to know your pleasure therein."—"Master Shelley," quoth my Lord, "I knowe that the King of his owne nature is of a royall stomache, not willing more than justice shall leade him unto by the lawe. And therefore, I counsaile you and all other Judges and learned men of his counsaile to put no more into his heade than lawe, that may stande with conscience; for when ye tell him this is the lawe, it were well done ye should tell him also that although *this* be the lawe, yet *this* is conscience; for lawe without conscience is not mete to be given to a king by his counsell, to be ministered by him, ne by any of his ministers: for every counsellor to a king ought to have a respect to conscience, before the rigour of the lawe, for *laus est facere quod decet, non quod licet.* The king ought for his royall dignity and prerogative to mitigate the rigour of the lawe, where conscience hath the more force: and therefore in his princely place, he hath constituted a Chauncellor to order for him the same. And therefore the Courte of the Chauncery hath been commonly called the Courte of Conscience; because it hath jurisdiction to command the lawe in every case to desist from the execution of the rigour of the same, whereas conscience hath most effect. Therefore I say unto you in this case, although you and other of your profession, perceive by the orders of the lawe, that the King may lawfully doe the thing which ye require of me; how say you Mr. Shelley may I doe it with conscience,

science, to give that away which is none of mine, from me and my successors? If this be the lawe and conscience, I pray you shewe me your opinion." "Forsothe, my Lorde," quoth he, "there is no great conscience. But having regarde to the King's high powre, and to a better purpose, it may the better stand with conscience; who is sufficient to recompense the churche of Yorke with double the valewe." "That I knowe well, but there is no such condition," quoth my Lorde, "but only a bare and simple departure with another's right. For if every Bishoppe that may, should so doe, then might every prelate give away the patrimony of their churches; and so in process leave nothing for their successors to maintain their dignity; which should be but smally to the King's honnor. Well I will not stand long with you in this matter, let me see your commision." To whome Mr. Shelley shewed the same, and that seene, "Mr. Shelley," quoth he, "ye shall shewe the King's Highness, that I am his most faithfull subjecte, obediencer, and beadman, whose royall commaundement and requeste I will in no wise disobey, but fulfill his pleasure in all such things, wherein ye fathers of the lawe say I may lawfully doe. Therefore I charge your conscience to discharge me. Howbeyt, shewe his Highness from me, that I most humbly desire his Majestie to call to his most gracious remembrance, that there is both a heaven and a hell." And herewithall the clerke toke and wrote the recognisaunce, and after some secrete talke they departed. Then rose my Lorde of Norfolke from his repose, and after some communication with my Lorde he likewise departed.

Thus continued my lorde at Asshur, who received daily messages from the courte, some good and

and some as evil, but moe evil than good. For his enemies, perceiving the good affection and minde that the king bare allwaies towards him, devised a mean to disquiet his patience; thinking thereby to give him an occasion to fret and chafe, that death should rather ensue, than otherwise, the which they most desired. They feared him more after his fall, than they did in his prosperity, doubting his retourne againe into authority by the kings favour; whereby they might rather be in daunger of their lives, than in any assuraunce, for their cruelty ministered unto him by their malicious inventions, surmised and brought to passe against him.

Therefore they toke this order in their matters with him, that daily they would send him something, or doe something against him, wherein they thought they might give him an occasion of heaviness. As some day they would cause the king to send for fowre or six of his gentlemen from him to serve the king: and some other day they would lay newe matters newely invented against him. Another day they would take away some of his promotions; or some of their promotions from them whom he had preferred before. Then would they fetch from him some of his yeomen; in somuche that the king toke sixteen of them at one time into his garde.

This was his life continually; so that there was not one day but, or ever he went to bed, he had an occasion greatly to chafe, and to frete the harte out of his body, but that he was a wise man, and bare all things in patience.

At Christmas he fell very sore sicke, most likely to die. Whereof the king being advertised, was very sorry, and sent Doctor Buttes, his phisition, unto him, to see in what estate he was. Doctor Buttes

Buttes came unto him, finding him lying very sicke in his bed; and perceiving the daunger retourned to the king. Of whom the king demaunded, saying, "Have you seen yonder man?" "Yea, sir," quoth he. "How do you like him?" quoth the king. "Sir," quoth he, "if you will have him dead, I warrant him he will be deade within these foure days, if he receive no comforte from you shortly, and Mrs. Anne." "Marye," quoth the king, "God forbid that he should die. I pray you, Master Buttes goe againe unto him, and doe your care unto him; for I would not lose him for twenty thousande poundes." "Then must your grace," quoth Master Buttes, "send him first some comfortable message, as shortly as ye can." "Even so I will," quoth the king, "by you. And therefore make speede to him againe, and ye shall deliver him this ring from me for a token," (in the which ring was the king's image, engraved within a ruby, as like the king as could be devised). "This ring he knoweth right well; for he gave me the same; and tell him, that I am not offended with him in my harte nothing at all, and that shall he knowe shortly. Therefore bid him pluck up his harte, and be of good comforte. And I charge you come not from him, untill ye have brought him out of the daunger of death." Then spake the king to Mistress Anne Bullen, saying, "Good sweete harte, I pray you, as ye love me, send the cardinall a token at my desire, with comfortable wordes; and in so doing ye shall deserve our thankes." She not being disposed to offend the king, would not disobey his loving request, whatsoever in her harte she intended towards the cardinall; but toke incontinent her tablet of gold, that hung at her girdle, and delivered it to Master Buttes, with very gentle and comfortable wordes.

And

And so Master Buttes departed with speede to Asshur; after whom the king sent doctor Cromer the Scot, doctor Clement, and doctor Wotton, to consulte with Master Buttes for my lordes recovery.

After that Master Buttes had been with my lorde, and delivered the kings and Mistress Annes tokens unto him, with the most comfortable wordes that he could devise on the kings and mistress Annes behalfe, he rejoiced not a little, and advaunced himselfe on his bed, and received the tokens most joyfully, thanking master Buttes for his paines and good comforte. Master Buttes tould him furthermore that the kings pleasure was, that he should minister unto him for his health: and to joine with him, for the better and most assured waies, he hath sent heither doctor Clement, doctor Cromer, and doctor Wotton. "Therefore my lorde," quoth he, "it were well done they were called in to visite you, and to consulte with them, and to have their opinions of your disease, trusting to Almighty God that we shall, through his grace and helpe, ease you of your paines, and rid you of your infirmities." To this motion my lorde was contented to hear their judgements; for he trusted more to doctor Cromer than to all the rest, because he was the very meane to bring him from Paris into Englande, and gave him partly his exhibition in Paris. Then when they were come into his chamber, and had talked with him, he tooke upon him to debate his disease learnedly, so that they might perceive that he was sene in that arte. After they had taken order for their ministration, it was not long ere they brought him out of daunger; and within foure daies they set him on his feete, and got him a stomache to meate. All this done, and he in a right good way of

of amendment, they toke their leave to departe, to whome my lorde offered to each of them his reward; the which they refused, saying, that the king had given them a speciall commaundement, that they should take of him nothing for their paines and ministration; for at their retourne he himselfe would sufficiently reward them of his owne costes: and with great thankes they departed, and lefte my lord in good state of recovery.

After this time my lord amended daily, and continued at Asshur untill Candlemas; before and against which feaste, the king caused to be sent unto my lorde three or foure carte loades of stuffe, and most thereof, excepte beds and kitchin stuffe, was loaded in great standards, wherein was bothe plate and rich hangings, and chappell stuffe. Then my lord, being thus furnished, was therewith contented; although they whome the king assigned did not deliver him so good, ne so riche stuffe, as the kings pleasure was, yet was he well contented, and rendered most humble thanks to the king, and thanked them that appointed the same for him, saying to us his servaunts, when those appointed persons were gone, at the opening of the saide standardes, that he thought it might have bene better appointed. "But sirs," quoth my lord, "he that hath nothing is glad of somewhat: and though it be not in comparison so much, ne yet in valewe so good as we had before, of all the great aboundaunce that then we had, yet we give the kinge our most humble thankes, trusting after this to attaine to more. Therefore let us all rejoice, and be glad that God and the king hath so graciously favoured us to restore us to something to maintaine our estate like a noble person."

Then commanded he master Cromwell to make earnest suite to the kinge, that he might remove from

from thence to some other house, for he was weary of the house of Asshur; for with continuall usage the house waxed unsavoury; supposing that if he might remove, he shoulde much sooner recover his healthe. And also the counsell had put in the kings heade, that the newe gallery, which my lorde had lately builded before his fall shoulde be very necessary for the king, to take it downe and set it at Westminster; which standeth at this day there, from the old gallery next the kings lodging, unto the first gatehouse. The taking away whereof was a great course that his enemies daily invented of new, to torment him, the which discouraged him any longer to continue there. Nowe master Cromewell thought it but folly and vaine to move any of the king's counsell, who were my lordes ennemies, to helpe his suite to the kinge for my lordes removing, for they would rather have removed him further from the king, than to have holpen him to come nearer unto him; wherefore he made suite to the kings person only; whose suite the kinge graciously heard, and thought it very convenient to be graunted; and therewith, through the motion of master Cromewell, the kinge was contented he should remove to Richmond, which place my lorde had a little before repaired to his great costes; for the king had made an exchaunge thereof with him for Hampton-court. All this was done without knowledge of the kings counsell; for if they might have had understanding thereof before, then would they have persuaded the king to the contrary: but when they knewe of the kings graunt and license, although they dissimuled their mindes in the kings presence, yet were they afraide of him, lest his nighe resorte to the king, might be move the king at some braide [3], to

[3] *Braide.*] Seacon. M. S. 250.

have

have resorted unto him, and to have called him home againe, considering the great loving affection that the king daily shewed unto him; wherefore they doubted his rising up againe, if they founde not the meanes shortly to remove him further from the king. Insomuch that they thought it convenient for their purpose to move the king upon considerations which they invented, that it were very necessary that my lorde should goe downe into the North unto his benefice, where he should be a good staye for the country; to the whiche the king condescended, thinking no lesse than all had been true as they had made relation. Their suggestion was forced so with wonderful imaginations of depe considerations that the king was straightways persuaded to their conclusion. Whereupon my lorde of Norfolke bade master Cromewell, who daily resorted to my lord, to say to him, that he must goe home to his benefice, and there looke to his charge: who at his next repaire to my lorde, then lying at Richmond, declared unto him, howe it was determined that he should goe home to his benefice. "Well then Thomas," quoth my lord, "we will go to Winchester." "I will," quoth master Cromewell, "shewe my lorde of Norfolke what ye saye." And so he did at his next meting with him. "What should he doe there?" quoth the duke. "Nay, let him goe to his riche bishopricke of Yorke, where his honors and more charge lieth; and so shewe him." The lordes who were not his friends, perceiving that my lorde was disposed to plant himselfe so nighe the kinge, thought then to withdrawe his appetite from Winchester, and then moved the king to give my lord a pension of four thousand markes out of Winchester, and all the rest to distribute among his nobility and servants; and soe likewise to di-

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vide the revenues of St. Albans; whereof some had three hundred marks, and some a hundred pounds, and soe some more and some less; and all the revenues of the lands belonging to the colledge of Oxenforde and Ipswiche, the kinge toke into his owne hands; whereof master Cromewell had the receipt and government before by my lord his assignment; wherefore it was thought very necessary that he should so have still, who executed all things thereof so exactly and wittily, that he was had in great estimation for his behaviour therein, and also for the true and faithful demeanour towards his lord and master.

Then it came to passe that those to whome the kings majestie had given any annuities or fees for terme of life by patent could not be good, but only during my lords life, forasmuch as the king had no longer estate therein, the which he had by reason of my lord his attaynder in the premunire; and to make their estates good and sufficient for the termes of their lives, there was none other shifte but to obtaine my lords confirmation of their patents. And this to be brought aboute, there was no meane, but to sue to master Cromewell to obtaine the same at my lord his handes, whom they thought the best instrument for their purpose.

Then began every man bothe noble and gentleman who had any patents of the kinge out of Winchester or St. Albans, to make suite to Mr. Cromewell to solicit the cause to my lorde, to get therein his confirmation; and for his paines therein, bothe worthely to rewarde him, and every man to shewe him such pleasures, as should be at all times in their severall powers, whereof they assured him. Wherein master Cromewell perceived an occasion given him by time to help himselfe, and to bring to passe that he long sought for; intending

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to worke in this matter according to their desires, the soner to bringe his owne enterprise and purpose to passe.

Then at his next retourne to my lorde, he moved this matter unto him, and so persuaded with him, that they bothe wrought together to bringe in master Cromewell in place, where he might doe good to my lorde, and to himselfe. Now began matters to work to bringe master Cromewell into estimation, in suche sorte as was much hereafter to his increase of dignity; and every man having an occasion to have my lord his confirmation to their pattents, made new earnest suite unto him, who undertooke to do his beste. And having the ordering and disposition of the landes of these colleges, he had a great occasion of suitors, besides the continual access to the king, by meanes whereof, and through his witty demeanour, he grewe continually into the kings favour, as ye shall hereafter hear in this history. But first let us retourne to the business for the assuraunce of all those great pattents, which the king hath given and graunted to diverse noblemen and other gentlemen of his servants, wherein master Cromewell made great suite to my lorde, so that in processe he served so their tournes that they had their purpose, and he their good will. Thus rose his name and friendly acceptaunce with all men. The fame of his honesty and wisdome, came to the king, and he perceived no lesse by his wise demeanors in those receipts and governments that he had of those landes as I shewed you before; and the conference that he had therein with the king, caused the king to repute him to be a very wise man, and a mete instrument to serve his grace, as after it came to passe.

Sir,

Sir, nowe the lords thought very longe to have my lord removed further out of the kings way: wherefore among other of my lords, my lord of Norfolke saide to master Cromewell, "Cromewell," quoth he, "me thinketh that the Cardinall thy master maketh no haste to goe northwarde. Tell him if he goe not away but shall tarry, I shall teare him with my teethe. Therefore I would advise him to prepare himselfe away, as shortly as he can, or else he shall be sent forwarde." These wordes master Cromewell reported to my lord at his next repare unto him, who then had an occasion to resort unto him, for the dispatche of the noble and gentlemens pattents. And here I will leave off this matter, and shewe you of my lord his comming and continuing at Richmond.

My lord having license of the king, which master Cromewell obtained for him, as I shewed you before in this history, to repare unto Richmond, he made haste all that he could to prepare thitherwarde; and so he came and lodged there within the lodge of the great parke, which was a very pretty house and neat, lacking no roomes that be convenient for so little a house, where was also a very faire garden. There my lord lay from the time of his comming from Asshur unto Lent, with a pretty number of servants, because the house was very small for his whole familie; and the rest of his servants went to borde wages.

I will tell you a pretty tale, by the way of communication. As my lorde was accustomed to walke towardes the evening in his garden there, and to say his evensonge, and other his divine service with his chapleine, it was my chaunce to waite upon him there; and standing in an alley, whilst he in another alley walked with his chapleine, saying his service, as is aforsaide; as I stode, I espied certaine images of

beastes counterfeited in timber, standing in corner under the lodge, to the whiche I repared to behold. Among whom I sawe stande there a dunne cowe, whereon I most mused, because of the * likely entailing thereof. My lorde, being in the further side of the garden, espied me, howe I vewed and surveied those beastes; and having finished his service, came soddenly upon me, or I was ware, and speaking unto me, saide, "What have you espied here, that you look so attentively upon?" "Forsoothe, if it please your grace," quoth I, "here I behold these images; the which I suppose were ordeined to be set up within some place about the king's palace: howbeyt, sir, among them all, I have most considered this cowe, in which (as me seemeth) the workman has most lively shewed his cunning." "Yea, mary," quoth he, "upon this cowe hangeth a certain prophecy, the which is this; because peradventure you never heard it before, as I will shewe you. There is a saying,

"When the cowe rideth the bull,
"Then, priest, beware thy scull."

Of which prophecy neither my lord that declared it, nor yet I that heard it, understood the effecte; although the compassing thereof was at that present a-working, and about to be brought to passe. This cowe the king gave by reason of the earldom of Richmonde, which was his inheritance; and this prophecy was afterwards expounded in this wise. The dunne cowe, because it was the kings beaste, betokened the King; and the bull betokened mistress Anne Bulleine, which was after queene, because that her father gave a blacke bulls

* *Entailing.*] From the Ital. *intagliare*, to cut, carve, &c.

heade

heade in his cognisaunce, and was his beaste. So that when the king had married queen Anne, the which was then unknowen to my lorde, or to any other that he would doe so, then was this prophecy thought of all men to be fulfilled. For, what number of priestes, religious and seculers, lost their heades for offending such lawes as were made to bring this marriage to effect, is not unknowne to all the worlde. Therefore it may well be judged that this prophecy is fulfilled upon this occasion. Nowe, what dark riddelles and prophecies be, you may behold in the same: for before it came to passe there was not the wisest divinour, that could perfectly declare it, as it came to passe. Trust not therefore to any kind of darke prophecies, wherein ye may, as many have bene, be deceived; and which hath brought many to destruction. And often the imagining to avoide such straunge prophecies, hath bin the very occasion, the soner to bring the same to performaunce and effect. Therefore let men beware to deme and assure themselves upon any such prophecy; for who so doeth shall first deceive himselfe, and then bring many into error with him; whereof experience hath bin of late, the more pitty. But if men will needes think themselves so wise, that they think they be assured of such prophecies, and will worke their willes therein, either to avoide or fulfull the same, God sende him well to speede, for he may as well and much soner, take damage than avoide the daunger thereof! Therefore let prophecies alone, a God's name, and apply your vocation, and commit such riddles unto him that both knoweth the sequell, and can torne the same at his pleasure, and alter all your enterprises to nothing, and cause you to repent your folly, the which you will confesse, when you shall smarte for it yourselfe, and find it to be

bothe

bothe great folly and much more foolishness to trust in such fantasies. Commit therefore all to God and to his disposition, who governeth and punisheth according to his pleasure, and not to all men's judgement.

You have heard heretofore what wordes the duke of Norfolke had to master Cromewell touching my lord his going unto his benefice at Yorke. At such time as master Cromewell repaired next to my lord, then shewed he him the wordes that my lorde of Norfolke had commaunded him to say. "Mary, Thomas," quoth my lord, "then it is time to be going, if he take it so. Therefore I pray you to go to the king, and ye may say that I would goe to my benefice at Yorke, but for lacke of money; desiring his grace to helpe me with some. For ye may say, the last money I received from his grace, hathe bin too little to paye my old debts; and to compell me to the payment of the rest of my debts hath bin too much extremity; bothe to take from me all my goods, and to put me to the paiment of my debts also; wherein I trust his grace will have a charitable respect. Ye may also shewe my lord of Norfolke, and other of the counsell, that I would departe if I had money." "Sir," quoth master Cromewell, "I shall doe my best." And after other communication he departed againe, and went to London.

My lord then in the beginning of lent removed out of the Lodge into the Charterhouse of Richmond, where he lay in a lodging, which doctor Collet made for himselfe, untill he removed northwarde; which was in the Passion Weeke after; and every day resorted to the Charterhouse there, and in afternoones he would sit in contemplation with one of the most auncient fathers of that house in their celles, who converted him, and caused him to despise the vaine glory of the world, and

gave him shirtes of heare to weare, the which he ware diverse times after. And thus he continued for the time of his abode there in godly contemplation.

Whan master Cromewell came to the court, he shewed my lord of Norfolke that my lord would most gladly goe northwarde, but for lacke of money, wherein he desired his helpe to the king. Then was the king moved therein, as well by master Cromewell, as by the counsell; the which matter the king referred to determine and assigne to the counsell; who were in diverse opinions. Some would he should have none, some would he should have enough, and some would have him to have but a small some; and some thought it should be much against the king's dignity and honnor, and also very much against the counsellors honnor, to see him want, that had bin in such estimation with the king, and in great authority in this realme; yea and it should rather be a slander to the kinge and his whole realme among forreine potentates, to see him want that had so much, and now so little. "Therefore," quoth one of them, "rather than he should lacke (although he never did me a pleasure), yet would I lay all my plate to gage for him for a thousand poundes, rather than he should departe northwarde, so bare and simply, as some would have him to doe. Let us doe to him as we would be done unto; considering the lightness of his offense, and the greate inestimable substaunce that he hathe departed withall, only for the king's pleasure, rather then he would disobey his grace's will." So after longe debate in this matter, it was concluded, that he should have by the way of a prest [5], a thousand markes of his pension

[5] *By the way of a prest.*] *Prêt, Somme prêtée.* Fr. A sum in advance.

Commend

pension out of Winchester, the which the king had graunted him out thereof, because the king had resumed the same bishopricke wholly into his hands; and yet out of the same he had graunted diverse other great pensions to many of the noblemen and other of his counsell, so that I doe suppose, all things accompted, the least part was his. So, when this determination was concluded, they declared the same to the king, who streightway commaunded the said thousand markes to be delivered out of hand to master Cromewell; and so it was. The king commaunded master Cromewell to resorte to him againe, when he had received the same some of money. And according to the same commaundement, when he had received the money, he repaired againe to the king; to whom the king saide, "Shewe my lord, although our counsell have assigned no somme of money, for to beare his charge, yet ye shall shewe him in my behalfe, that I have sent a thousand poundes of my benevolence, and tell him that he shall not lacke, and bid him be of good cheare." Master Cromewell most humbly, on my lord his behalf, thanked the king for his noble harte and great liberallity, towardes my lord, "whose comfortable wordes of your grace," quoth he, "shall rejoice him more than three times the value of the money." And therewith departed, and came directly unto my lord to Richmond; to whom he delivered the money, and shewed him of all the debate and pro-

"Commend me to all our faithfull brethren, and bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themselves to be hearty *souldiours* in Christ. They have taken his *prest money* a great while, and now let them shew themselves ready to serve him faithfully, and not to fly out of the Lord's *camp* into the world, as many do." Letter of John Philpot, Fox's *Acts*, p. 1664.

gresse of all the matter in counsell, and what money, and whereof it was levied that they sent him; and of the money which the king sent; adding thereto the kings comfortable sayings and message, wherein my lord did not a little rejoice, but toke thereof greate pleasure and comforte. Then did master Cromewell counsell with him for the furniture of his journey into the Northe; wherein they included many things to be done, as I shall recite hereafter.

Then prepared my lord all things with speede for his journey, and repaired into the Northe with all celerity, and sent to London for livery clothes for his servants, that should ride with him thither. Some of his servants he refused, suche as he thought were not meete to serve; and some againe of their own minde desired his honnor to tarry still in the south, being very lothe to forsake their native country, their parents, wives, and children, whom he right gladly and with good will licensed so to doe, and rendered unto them his harty thanks for their longe tarrying with him in his trouble. So that, all things being furnished towards his journey, he tooke the same in the beginning of the Passion Weeke, before Easter; and so rode from Richmond to a place which was the abbots of Weftminster, called Hendon; and the next day he removed to a place where my lady Parrey lay, called the Rye; the next day he rode to Royston, where he was lodged in the Priory there; then went he the next day to Huntington, and there lodged within the Abbey; and the next day he rode to Peterborough, and there lodged in the Abbey, makinge there his abode all the next weke, where he kept the solemne feast of Easter, with all his traine, (save a fewe in nomber, which were continually attending on him) who were lodged in the towne,

and

and had borde wages; his traine was in number a hundred and three score persons, haveing with him twelve cartes to carry his stuffe of his owne, which he sent for from his colledge of Oxenforde, that were there provided, besides three score other cartes of his daily carriage of necessaries, for his buildings. Upon Palme Sundaye he bare his palme, and went in procession, with the monkes, setting forth the devine service right honourably, with suche singing men, as he then had there of his owne. And upon Maunday Thursday he made his Maundy there in our Ladies Chappelle, having fifty-nine [6] pore men, whose feet he washed, and kissed; and after he had wiped them, he gave every of the saide pore men twelve pence in money, three ells of good canvass to make them shirtes, a paire of new shoes, a cast of red herrings, and three white herrings, and one of them had two shillings. Upon Easter day he rose to the resurrection [7], and

[6] *Fifty-nine.*] This number denotes that he was now fifty-nine years old.

[7] *He rose to the resurrection.*] The book of Ceremonies before cited, which was compiled in the reign of Henry VIII. observes: "Upon Easter day in the morning *the ceremonies* of the *resurrection* be very laudable, to put us in remembrance of Christ's resurrection, which is the cause of our justification." Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, v. i. p. 294. Records. What these ceremonies were we may collect from the Rubrics upon that day, in the *Processionale secundum usum Sarum*, fol. 72. edit. 1555. which are to this effect: On Easter day, before mass, and before the ringing of the bells, let the clerks assemble, and all the tapers in the church be lighted. Then two persons shall draw nigh to the sepulchre, and after it is censed, let them take the cross out of the sepulchre, and one of them begin *Christus resurgens.* Then let the procession commence. After this they shall all worship *(adorent)* the cross. Then let all the crucifixes and images in the church be unveiled, &c. &c. In like manner Good Friday also had its peculiar ceremonies. Bishop Longland closes his sermon preached

and that day he went in procession in his cardinalls vesture, haveing his hat on his heade, and sang the high masse there he himselfe solemnely. After his masse he gave his benediction to all the hearers with cleane remision [8]; and there continued he till Thursday next.

My lord continuying there at Peterborough after this manner, intending to remove from thence shortly, commaunded me to ride to sir William Fitzwilliams Knight, who dwelt within three or foure miles from Peterborough, to provide him there a lodging, for three or foure daies, in his journey northwardes. And being with this sir William Fitzwilliams, I did my message accordingly; whereof he was, as it appeared by his worde and dede, the gladdest man alive, that my lord would so lovingly take his house in his way; saying that he should be most heartily welcome of any man, the king his soveraigne except; saying furthermore that my lord should not nede to dislode or discharge any parte of his stuffe and carriage for his owne use, during his abode there; but should have all necessary stuffe of his owne to occupy, unles it were my lordes bed for his own person. This upon reporte made to my lord at my retourne, rejoiced him not

preached on that day before king Henry VIII. A. D. 1538, in the following manner: "In meane season I shall exhorte you all in our Lord God, *as of old custome hath here this day bene used*, every one of you or ye departe, with moost entire devocyon, knelynge tofore our savyour Lorde God, this our Jesus Chryst, whiche hath suffered soo muche for us, to whome we are soo muche bounden, *whoo lyeth in yonder sepulchre*; in honoure of hym, of his passyon and deathe, and of his five woundes, to say five Pater-nosters, five Aves, and one Crede: that it may please his mercifull goodness to make us parteners of the merites of this his most gloryous passyon, bloode, and deathe." *Imprynted by Thomas Petyt.* See also Michael Wood's *Dialogue or Familiar Talks*. A. D. 1554. Signat. D. 3.

[8] *With cleane remision.*] See above, n. 5. p. 387.

a little; and he commaunded me to give warning unto all his officers and servauntes to prepare them to remove from Peterborough upon Thursday next, which was in Easter weke. Then made every man himself, and all things in such readiness, as was convenient, paying in the towne for all such things as they had taken; for which cause my lord caused proclamation to be made in the towne, that if any person or persons were greved by any of his servants, they should resorte to his officers, and there they should be answered, and have due remedy; so that, all things redy furnished, my lord toke his journey from the abbey of Peterborough on the Thursday in Easter weeke, to Mr. Fitzwilliams, where he was joiously received, and had worthy and honorable entertainement at the only costes and charge of the said Mr. Fitzwilliams all the time of my lord his being there with him.

The occasion that moved Mr. Fitzwilliams thus friendly to doe, was this: he was sometime a merchant of London, and sheriffe thereof, and bore the charge of the same in the said city: and after there fell a great debate and grudge betweene the bench of aldermen and the said sir William, for that he would have a new corporation of Merchaunt Taylors, contrary to the order of the citty, the which caused him to surrender up his cloake, and gave over his freedom of the citty; against whose malice my lord bare him much, and after received him into his service, whome he made his treasurer, and after that his high chamberleine, and in conclusion, for his wisdom, gravity, eloquence, and porte, being a comely gentleman, my lord made him one of the king's counsell, who so continued during all his life after. And for the speciall goodness he allwaies found in my lord in his trouble with the citty, like a faithful servant he was

redy

redy then most joyfully to requite him with the semblable, and graunted to shew him any pleasure that lay in him to doe.

Thus my lord continued there from Thursday in Easter weke, at Mr. Fitzwilliams costes, untill the Monday next following; at which time he removed from thence unto Stamforde; where he lay all night, at the signe of the bull. And the next day he removed from thence to Grantham, and was lodged in a gentlemans place whose name was Mr. Hall. And the next day he rode to Newark, and lodged in the castle all that night, and the next day also; which is within four miles of Southwell, whither my lord intended to ride, and there to continue, as here after ye shall heare.

I cannot chose but to declare unto you a notable communication had at Mr. Fitzwilliams house, between my lorde and me, which was this: My lord walking in the garden at Mr. Fitzwilliams his house saying his evensong with his chapleine, and I being there attending upon him, after he had finished his praiers, he commaunded his chapleine that bare up his gowne traine to deliver the same to me, and to goe aside; and after the chapleine was gone, he spake to me in this wise, calling me by my name, "Ye have bine lately at London," quoth he; "Forsoothe my lord," quoth I, "not since I was there to buy your liveries for your servants." "And what newes was there then," quoth he; "heard you no communication of me? I pray you tell me." Then perceiving that I had a good occasion to speake my mind unto him, I said, "Sir, if it please your grace, it was my chaunce to be at dinner in a certaine place, where I also supped, and many honest worshipful gentlemen, who were for the most parte of mine old acquaintance, and therefore durst the bolder participate with me in conversation

conversation of your grace, knowing that I was still your servant; and they asking of me howe ye did, and how you accepted your adversity and trouble; I answered that you did well, and accepted all things in good parte; and as it semed to me, they were your indifferent friends, of whome they said none evill, but lamented your decay and fall very sore, doubting much the sequell not to be good for the common wealth. Also they mervailed much that you, being of such excellent witt, and of such high discretion, would so simply confesse yourselfe guilty unto the king, as you did. For, as they understode by reporte of some of the kings counsell, your case being well considered, you have great wronge: to the which I could make no direct answer." "Is this," quoth he, "the opinion of wise men?" "Yea forsothe, my lord," quoth I, "and commonly of all men else." "Well then," quoth he, "for all their wisdome, they perceived not so much as I. For I considered, that mine enemies had brought the matter so to passe against me, that they conveied and made it the kings matter and case, and caused the king to take the matter into his owne hands; and after he had once the possession of all my goods, being the kings only case, rather than he would have delivered me my goods againe, and taken a foile or overthrow therein at my hands, without doubte he would not have missed (by the setting forthe and procurement of my evil-willers) to have imagined my undoing and destruction therein; whereof the best had bine perpetual imprisonment, or the daunger of my life. I had rather confesse the matter, as I did, and to live at large, like a poor vicar, than to live in prison with all the goods and honors I then had. And therefore it was for me the better way to yeild me unto the kings mercy and clemency, than

than to stand stiffe against him in triall of the wronge, which I sustained; wherein the king would have bine bothe to have bine noted, and in my submission, the king, I doubt not, had a conscience, wherein he would rather pitty me than maligne me. And also there was the nighte-crowe, that cried ever in his ears against me; and if she might have perceived any obstinacy in me; she would not have failed to have set it forthe with such vehemence, that I should rather have obtained the kings indignation, than his lawful favor: and his favor once lost (which I then knewe that I then had done) would never have bin by me recovered. Therefore I thought it better to kepe still his favor, with losse of goods and dignity, than to win his indignation with all my wit, truthe, and policy. And this was the cause (which all men know not) that I yealded myselfe so soone guilty to the *premunire*; wherein the king hath since conceived a conscience; for he knoweth, and allwaies did, more the effect thereof than any other person living, and whether I offended him therein or no, to whose conscience I commit the truthe of my cause." And thus we lefte the substance of our communication in this matter; although we had much more talke: yet this is sufficient to make you understande, as well bothe the cause of his confession in the *premunire*, as also the occasion of the losse of his goods.

Now let us retourne where we lefte my lorde, being now at the castle of Newarke, intending to ride to Southwell, which was but four miles from thence, as I shewed you before. He toke his journey thither against supper, where for lacke of reparation of the bishoppe's place, which belonges to the see of Yorke, he was compelled to lie in a prebenduries house, over against the bishoppes place, and

and there kept house untill Whitsontyde, against which time he removed into the place, being then newly repaired, and there continued all the most parte of that sommer, not without great resorte of the most worshipful of the country. And diverse noblemen, having occasion to repaire into the same country there, thought it good to visit my lord, as they travailed through the country, of whom they were most gladly entertained, and had right good chere, whose noble and gentle behaviour caused him to have much love in the country of all kinde of people. He kept there a noble house, where was bothe plenty of meate and drinke for all comers, and also muche almes given at the gate to the poore of the towne and country. He used much charity and clemency among his tenants, and other of the kings subjects. Although the hearinge thereof were not pleasaunt in the eares of suche as bare him no good will, yet the country and common people will say as they find cause; for now he was very much familiar among all persons, who then accustomably kept him company, and glad at any time when he might doe them any goode. He made many agreements and concordes betweene gentleman and gentleman, and betweene some gentlemen and their wives, and other meane persons, the which had bin long before a sunder in great trouble; making for every of them, as occasion did serve great assemblies and feastes, not sparing his purse, where he might make a peace and amity; which gat him much love [9] and friendshippe in the contry.

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[9] *Him much love.*] The favourable representation given of this portion of the cardinal's life, notwithstanding what is said by Fox, p. 908, is fully confirmed by an authority which cannot be suspected of partiality to his memory, that of a State Book,

It chaunced so that upon Corpus Christi even my lord gave me warning, after supper, to prepare all things in a readiness; for he intended to sing high masse the next day following; which I did not forget, although it were late; and I gave like warning to the head officers and other of my fellowes, to see in their romes all things furnished accordingly. I was not after that scantly laid in my bed, nor fully asleepe, but one of the porters came to my chamber dore, calling for me, and sayd, that there were two gentlemen at the gate, that would speake with my lord from the king. I rose up incontinent, and went with the porter to the gate. I demaunded who was there without. They made answer and sayde, that there was Mr. Brereton, one of the gentlemen of the kings privy chamber, and Mr. Wretherly, who were come from the kinge in post, to speake with my lorde. Then having understanding what they were, I

Book, which came out from the office of the King's Printer in the year 1536, intitled *A Remedy for Sedition*. "Who was lesse beloved in the Northe than my lord cardynall, God have his sowle, before he was amonges them them? Who better beloved, after he had ben there a whyle? We hate oft times whom we have good cause to love. It is a wonder to see howe they were turned; howe of utter enemyes they becam his dere frendes. He gave byshops a ryght good ensample, howe they might wyn mens hartys. There was few holy dayes, but he would ride five or six myle from his howse, nowe to this parysh churche, nowe to that, and there cause one or other of his doctours to make a sermone unto the people. He sat amonges them, and sayd masse before all the paryshe. He sawe why churches were made. He began to restore them to their ryght and propre use. He broughte his dinner with hym, and bad dyvers of the parish to it. He enquired, whether there was any debate or grudge betweene any of them; yf there were, after dinner he sente for the parties to the churche, and made them all one. Men say well that do well. Godde's lawes shal never be so set by as they ought, before they be well knowen." Signat. E. 2.

caused

caused the porter to let them in. And after their entry they desired me without delay to speake with my lord; whose request I endeavoured myselfe to obey, and went to my lord his chamber, who was in his bed a-sleepe. But when he heard me speake, he demaunded of me what I would have. "Sir," said I, "there is beneathe in the porter's lodge, Mr. Brereton of the kings privy chamber, and Mr. Wretherly, come from the kinge to speake with you: they will not tarry in any wise, but speake with you, and so departe. "Well then," quoth my lord, "bid them come up into the next chamber, and I will prepare myselfe to come to them." Then departed I from my lord, and went downe, and shewed them that my lord desired them to take the paines to come up into his dining chamber; to whome my lord shortly came. They seeing him in night apparel, did to him due reverence; whom he toke by the hands, demaunding of them, how the king his sovereigne lord did. "Sir," saide they, "right well and merry, thanks be to God. Sir," sayd they, "we must desire you to talke with you aparte." "With a right good will," quoth my lord. Then talked they with him in secrette in a great windowe; and after longe talke they toke forthe of a little male a close thing, in manner of a little coffer, covered with greene velvet, and bound with barres of silver and gilt, with a locke on the same, having a gilt key, with the which they opened the chest; out of the which they toke an instrument or writing, containing more than a skin of great parchment, having many seales hanging to the same, whereunto they put more waxe for my lord his seale; the which my lord sealed, and subscribed his name with his own hande, and delivered the same againe unto them, desiring them (for as much as they made haste

to

to departe) to tarry, and take a bed, for it was very late, about midnight or something past. They thanked him, and saide they might in no wise tarry, but saide they would streightway ride to the Earl of Shrewsbury, and do as much as they could to be there before he should be stirring. And my lord, seeing their speedy haste, caused them to eate such cold meate as there was ready in the house, and to drinke a boll or two of wine. And that done, he gave each of them foure old Sovereignes of fine gold, desyring them to take it *in gree*, saying, that if he had bin of greater ability, he would have given them a better rewarde; and so taking their leave they departed. And after they were departed, as I heard say, they were not contented with their rewarde. Indede they were none of his indifferent friends, which caused them to accept the same so disdainfully. Howbeit, if they had knowne what little store of money he had at that time, being but his indifferent friends, they would have given him great thanks: but nothing is more lost or cast away, than such things as be given to such persons. My lord went againe to bed; and yet neverthelesse, for all his disquietness and smalle rest that he had that night, he rose in the morning betimes, and sang High Masse as he was appointed the night before. There was fewe or none of all the house, besides myself and the porter, that knewe of the going or comming of Mr. Brereton and Mr. Wretherley; and yet there lay in the house many strangers and worshipfull gentlemen of the shire.

After this sorte and manner my lord lay at Southwell, untill about the latter end of grasse time; at which time he intended to remove to Scroby, which is an other house and lordeship of the bishoprieke of Yorke. And against the day of his

his removing, he caused his officers to prepare all things in a readiness, as well provision to be made for him there, as also for his carriage thither, and other matters concerning the same. His removing and intente was not so secrete, but that it was abrode knowne in the country; which was not so much sorrowe to all his neighboures there about Southwell, but it was as joyfull to all the contry about Scroby.

Against the day of his removing all the knightes and other worshipfull gentlemen of the shire of that contry came unto him to Southwell upon Sonday to dinner, and lay with him all that night, to accompany and attend upon him in that journey the next day, and so to conduct him through the forrest country unto Scroby. But he being of their purpose advertised, and how they intended to lodge a great stagge or twaine by the way, where he should needes ride, purposing to shewe him all the disporte and pleasure that they could devise for him, was very lothe to use any such honnor and disporte, not knowing how the king would take it; being also well assured how his enemies would much rejoice, to understande, that he would take upon him any such presumption, whereby they might finde an occasion to persuade with the kinge how sumptuous he was notwithstanding his adversity and displeasure, and so to bring the king in a perfect ill opinion of him, and thereby brede small hope of reconciliation, but rather to informe the king, that he sought a meane to obtain the favor of the contry than of him; with diverse such imaginations, wherein he might rather obtaine displeasure than honnor. And also he was lothe to make the worshipfull gentlemen privy of this his imagination, least they should conceive any toy in their heades by meanes thereof, and so to

leave

leave their accustomed accesse unto him, which was much to his comforte. Therefore he devised an other way, which might be taken rather for a laughing disporte, than otherwise. And thus it was: first he called me unto him secretly at night, going to his rest, and commaunded me that I should in most secrette wise that might be, cause six or seven horses, besides his mule, to be in a readiness for him by break of the day, and such persons as he appointed to ride with him to Newsted, an abbey in the which he intended to lodge by the way to Scroby, willing me to be also in a readiness to ride with him, and to call him so early that he might hear masse or ever he went forwarde, and be on horseback by the breake of day. What will ye have more? All things being accomplished and finished according to his pleasure, he with those small number of persons appointed, mounted on his mule, and 'set forwarde by the breaking of the day towards Newstede, which was about sixteen miles from thence; whither my lord and we came before six of the clocke in the morning, and so went incontinent unto his bed, leaving all the gentlemen and his household at Southwell in their beddes, not knowing of my lord his sodain departure, whoe expected his uprising untill eight of the clocke. But after it was knowne unto them and to all the rest, there was no more to doe, but every man to his horse-backe, and so galloped after, supposing to overtake him. But he was at his lodging at rest, ere they set forthe out of Southwell, and so was their cheife hunting [1] laid aparte, and the great stagges uncoursed. But at their thither repaire, sitting at dinner, the matter was laughed at, and so merrily jested out, that all was well taken.

1 *Cheife hunting.*] So all the MSS. But, perhaps the true reading is, *Cerf* hunting, i. e. *stag-hunting*.

Then

Then my lord intending the next day to remove from thence, there resorted to him the Earle of Shrewesburys keepers and gentlemen sent from him, to desire my lord, in their maisters behalfe to hunt in a Parke of their maisters called Worsoppe Parke, which was even at hand, and the nearest and best way for my lord to travaile through in his journey, where was much plenty of game, that was laide for him in a readiness to hunt. Howbeit he thanked bothe my lord their maister for his gentleness, and them for their paines; and then saide, he was a man not meete to receive any such pleasure: for such pastime was mete for men of honnor, that delighted themselves therein, for whome he saide it was more convenient than for him. Neverthelesse he could doe no lesse than thinke my lorde of Shrewsbury to be much his friend, in whom he found such gentleness and noble offer; and rendered also to him his most lowly thanks, from the very bottom of his harte. But in no wise could they intreat him to hunt. Although the worshipfull men in his company did much provoke him thereto, yet he would not consent, desiring them to be contented; saying that he came not into the contry, to frequent or followe any such pleasures, or pastimes, but rather to attend to a greater care that he had in hand, which was both his study and pleasure. And with such reasons and persuasions he pacified them for the time. Howbeit as he rode through the parke, bothe my lorde of Shrewesbury servants, and also the aforesaid gentlemen moved him once againe, before whome the deare lay very faire for all purposes of pleasure. But it would not availe; and therefore he made as much spede through the parke as he could. And at the issue out he called the gentlemen, and my lord of Shrewesburys kepers

unto him, desiring them to commend him to my lord their master, thanking him for his most honorable offer, trusting shortly to visite him at his owne house: and gave the kepers forty shillings for their rewarde in conducting him through the parke. And so rode to dinner to an other abbey called Rufford Abbey; and after dinner he rode to an other abbey called Blithe, where he lay all nighte. And the next day he came to Scroby, where he continued till after Michaelmas, exercising many dedes of charity. And most commonly every Sonday (if the weather did serve) he would travaile unto some pore parish churche there aboute, and there would say his divine service, and either saie or heare masse, and caused one of his chapleines to preach the word of God unto the people. And that done, he would dine in some honest house in the towne, where should be distributed to the people a great almes of meate and drinke; or of money to supply the want of meate, if the nomber of the pore did so excede in necessity. And thus with other good dedes practising and exercising himselfe during his abode there, as making of love daies and agreements betweene party and party, being at variance, he daily frequented himself there abouts.

Then about the feast of St. Michaell next after, he tooke his journey to Cawood Castle, within seven miles of York; and passing thither he lay two nights and a day at St. Oswalde's Abbey, where he in proper person the next day confirmed children in the churche, from the houre of eight untill twelve of the clocke at noon. And, making a short dinner, resorted thither againe soon after one of the clocke; and for weariness, at the last was constrained to call for a chaire; and there confirmed moe children from the saide hour unto

six

six of the clocke towards night, or ever he could finishe and make an ende, the number of the children was suche. That done he went to his supper and rested him there all that night. And the next morning he applied himselfe to departe towardes Cawood; and or ever he went, he confirmed almost an hundred children more; and then rode his way from thence. And in his journey, at a plaine greene a little beyonde Ferrybridge, within a quarter of a mile, there were assembled, at a great crosse made of stone, a nomber of more children, accompted by estimation to be about the number of five hundred; where he was faine to alighte, and from thence never removed untill he had fully confirmed them every one; and then toke his mule and rode to Cawood; where he laye long after with much honnor and love of the country, bothe of the worshipfull and of the simple, doing of good deds of charity, and held there an honnorable and plentiful household for all comers; and also built and repaired the castle, which was greatly in decay, having a great multitude of artificers and labourers, about the number of three hundred persons, dayly in wages.

Lying there at Cawood he had intelligence by the gentlemen of the contry, that repaired unto him, that there was sprung a great variance and deadly hate betweene Sir Richard Tempest, knight, and one Mr. Brian Hastings, then being but an Esquire, betweene whome was like to ensue great murder, unless some meane mighte be founde to redress the inconvenience that was like to ensue. My Lord being thereof advertised, lamenting the case, made such meanes by his wise letters and other persuasions, that these two gentlemen were contente to resorte unto my Lord at Cawood, and there to abide his order, highe and lowe. A day

was appointed of their thither resorte; at which day they came bothe to Cawood, not without great number on either parte assembled. Wherefore against that day, my Lord had required many worshipful gentlemen to be there present, to assiste him with their indevour to accorde these two gentlemen, being thus at deadly feude. First my Lorde commaunded no more to enter the castle with these gentlemen but six of their menyall servants, and all the rest to remaine without in the towne, or where they listed to repaire. And himselfe issuing forthe at the gates, calling the nomber of bothe parties togeither before him, he streightly charged them in the King's name firmely to keep the peace, upon their perilles, without either bragging or quarrelling either with other; and caused them to have bothe bere and wine sent them into the towne. And then he returned into the castle, being about nine of the clocke in the morning. And because he intended to have bothe these gentlemen to dine with him at his owne table, he thought it good to appease the rumour before dinner. Whereupon he called them into his chappell; and, with the assistance of the other worshipful gentlemen, he began to fall to communication in the matter, declaring to them the dangers that were like to ensue by their willfull and stoute stomaches; with many other good and wholesome exhortations. Notwithstanding, the parties laying and alleadging many things for their defense, sometime added stoute and despitefull words of defiance eche to other, which my Lord and the other there assembled had much adoe to qualify, their malice was so great. What will ye have more? With long continuance and depe arguments made unto them by my Lorde, at last being there untill foure of the clock in the afternone, my Lord brought

brought them to a final concorde and peace, concluding a certaine determinate ende betweene them, the which I doe not now remember: and so made them friends. And, as it seemed, they were bothe contented therewith, and very joyous of the same. And then my Lord caused them, after they had shaken hands together, to goe arme in arme to dinner; the sight whereof pleased much the beholders: and so went to dinner, although it were too late to dine[2], yet notwithstanding they dined with the other gentlemen at my Lord his table, where was drinking unto eche other, in great amity as the manner is, and making great semblance of amity and love. After dinner my Lord caused eche of them to discharge their route and assembly that remained without, out of the towne, and to retaine with them no more than they were accustomed to ride withall. And that done, these gentlemen, fulfilling his commaundement, taryed with all the rest at Cawood, and lay there all that nighte; whome my Lorde entertained in suche

[2] *Too late to dine.*] "With us (says Harrison in the description of England, prefixed to Holingshed's Chronicle, p. 171), the Nobilitie, Gentrie, and Students do ordinarilie go to dinner at eleven before noone, and to supper at five, or betweene five and six at afternoone. The merchants dine and sup seldome before twelve at noone, and six at night, especiallie in London. The husbandmen dine also at high noone, as they call it, and sup at seven or eight: but out of the tearme in our Universities the scholars dine at ten. As for the poorest sort, they generally dine and sup when they may; so that to talke of their order of repast, it were but a needlesse matter."

"*Theophilus.* You wente to diner betyme I perceave. *Eusebius.* Even as I doe commonly, when I have no busynes, betwene nyne and ten; me thinkes it is a good houre: for by that meanes I save a breakfast, whyche for such idlers as I am, is most fittest." Dialogue between Eusebius and Theophilus. Signat. B 4. A. D. 1556.

sorte,

sorte, that they toke his gentleness in great nobleness and friendship, trusting to have of him a speciall jewell in their country: and so it proved after by their demeanour towardes him, as it shall appeare by their giftes, which they prepared for him against his stallation.

It is not to be doubted but that the worshipful persons, as Doctors, and Prebendaries of the close of Yorke, would resorte unto my Lord according to their duties, as unto the cheife heade, father and patron of their spirituall dignity, at his first comming into the country so nighe their churche, which was but bare six miles. Wherefore ye shall understande that Doctor Hickden, then doctor of the churche[3] of Yorke, a worshipfull man and a divine, with the Treasurer, and diverse other officers of the same college, repaired to my Lord, and most joyfully welcomed him into those partes; saying that it was to them no small comforte to see their heade among them, who hathe bine so long absent from them, being all the while like fatherless and comfortlesse children; but they trusted shortly to see him among them in his owne churche. To whome he aunswered, that it was the speciall cause of his comming, not only to be among them for a time, but also to continue his life among them, as a father and as a natural brother. "Sir then," quoth they, "ye must understande the ordinaunces and rules of our churche, whereof although ye be heade and governour, yet ye be not therewith so well acquainted as we be. Therefore, if it please your Grace, we shall, under supportation of the same, open unto you some

[3] *doctor of the churche.*] So the MSS, excepting that the York copy over the word Doctor, in another hand, has *Dean*, which perhaps is the true reading. Dr. Brian Higden at that time bore the office.

parte

parte of our auncient lawes and coustomes of our churche. Sir, where ye doe intend to repaire unto us, the old lawe and coustome hath evermore bin suche, that our head prelate and pastor, as ye now be, could, ne ever mighte, come above our quier dore, nor have any stall in the quier, untill he by due order were there stalled. Nor, if you should happen to die before your stallation, ye shall not be buried above in the quier, but in the nether parte of the body of the churche. Therefore we shall heartely desire, in the name of all our brethren, that ye would vouchsafe to doe herein, as our honorable fathers your predecessors have done; and that ye will breake no laudable coustome of our churche, to the which we be obliged by othe at our first admittaunce, to observe that, and diverse others, which in our chapiter remaine in recorde." "Those recordes," quoth my Lord, "would I faine see; and this sene and digested. I shall then shewe you further of my minde." And thus in this matter they ceased communication, and passed the time with other matters; so that a day was assigned to bringe in their records to my Lord. At which day they resorted unto him with their register and booke of records, wherein were written their constitutions and rules, which all the ministers of their churche were chearely bounde to observe on their behalfe, and to see them kept inviolable. And when my Lorde had seene and reade those recordes, and debated the same substauntially with them that brought these bookes, he determined to be stalled there at Yorke Minster, the next Monday after Alhallowne day. Against which time due preparation was made for the same, but not in so sumptuous a wise, as were his predecessors before him; ne yet in such sorte as the fame and common reporte was afterwardes made.

made of him, to his great slaunder, and to the reporters no small dishonesty, to reporte such lies as I am persuaded they did, to the which I was made privy. I was sent by my Lorde to Yorke to foresee things there, that should be ordered and provided for the solempnyty, which should have bin as meane as could be, considering the former decent honors of the worthy Minister of Yorke.

It came so to passe, that upon Allhallowne day, one of the head officers of the church, which should have the most doing in all this stallation, was with my Lorde at dinner, at his house at Cawood; and sitting at dinner they fell in communication of this matter, and of the order thereof, saying that my Lorde should goe on foote from a chappell (which standeth without the gates of the city called St. James's Chappell) unto the minister upon clothe, the which should be distributed to the pore after his passage. My Lord hearing this made aunswer to the same in this wise. "Although that our predicessors did goe upon clothe, soe we intend to goe on foote from thence without any such glory[4], in the vaumpes of our hosen. For I take God to my judge, I doe not intend to goe thither for any triumphe or glorye, but only to perform the rules of the churche, to the which I am bounde. And therefore I will desire you all, and will commaund

[4] *Without any such glory.*] The Cardinal perhaps remembered the credit which was gained by his successful rival Cardinal Adrian, who being elected to the papacy by the Conclave, through the influence of the emperor Charles V. "before his entry into the cittie of Rome (as we are told by one of Sir Thomas More's biographers), putting off his hose and shoes, and as I have credibly heard it reported, bare-footed and bare-legged, passed through the streets towards his Palace, with such humbleness, that all the people had him in great reverence." Harpsfield's *Life of Sir Thomas More*. Lambeth MSS. No. 827, fol. 12.

other

other of my servants, to goe as humbly thither, without any sumptuous or gorgious apparell, otherwise then in decent manner. For I doe purpose to come unto Yorke upon Sonday next against nighte, and to lodge in the Deanes house, and upon Monday to be stalled; and there to make but one dinner for you all of the Close, and for other worshipful gentlemen that shall chance to come thither to the same; and to sup with some of the Residences; and the next day to dine with the mayor, and then to repaire home hither againe; and so to finish the same, whereby I may at all times resorte to Yorke."

The day being once knowne unto all the country, which could not be hid, the worshipful gentlemen and other, as Abbots and Priors, having notice of the day of my Lord his stallation, sent in such provision of victuall, that it is almost incredible; wherefore I omit to declare unto you the certainety thereof. But there wanted no store of great and fat beastes and muttons, wildfowle, and venison, bothe red and fallowe, and other dainty things such as would have plentifully furnished his feaste, all which things were unknowne to my Lorde: forasmuche as he being prevented and disappointed of his purpose, by the reason that he was arrested of highe-treason, as ye shall hereafter hear; so that most parte of this sommer provision, that I spake of before, was sent unto Yorke the same day of his arrest, and the next day following; for his arrest was kept as close and secrete from the country as might be, because they doubted the common people, which had him in great estimation and love, for his great charity and liberallity, which he used dayly among them, with familiar gesture and behaviour, which be the very meanes

to

to attaine the love of the people of the northe partes.

Sir, or ever I wade any further in this matter, I doe intend to declare unto you what chaunced before his last trouble at Cawood, as a signe or token given by God what should followe; which, at the doing of the very thing, no suche sequell was of any man premeditate or imagined. Therefore, for as much as it is a notable thing to be considered, I will (God willing) declare it as truely as my memory can recorde; the which thing I sawe myselfe being then present.

My Lord's enemies being then in the courte about the King in good estimation and honnorable dignity, having now my Lord in more feare and doubte, than they had before his fall, considering the perfect zeale and secrett favor that the King bare allwaies towards him, thought at lengthe, the King might call him home againe; and then if he so did, they supposed, that he would rather imagine vengaunce, than to remit and forget their cruelty, which they wrought against him. Wherefore they compassed in their heades, either by some meanes to dispatch him by accusation of sinister treason, or to bringe him in the King's highe indignation by some other meanes. This was dayly their study, and consultation, having for their espialls as many vigilant eyes attendant upon him, as the poet feigned Argus to have; soe that he could neither worke or doe any thing, but that his enemies had knowledge thereof shortely after. Nowe at the last, they espied a time wherein they caught an occasion to bring their purpose to passe, thinking thereby to have of him a great advantage; for the matter being once disclosed unto the King, in such vehemency as they purposed, they thought the King would

would be against him. And that done, and by them executed, the King, upon other complaints moved with great displeasure, thoughte it good that he should come up, and stand to his trial; which they liked nothing at all; notwithstanding, hereupon he was sent for after this sorte. First, they devised that Sir Walter Walche, knighte, one of the King's privy chamber, should be sent downe with a commision into the northe, unto the Earle of Northumberland[5] (who was sometime brought up in house with my Lord Cardinall), and they twaine being jointly in commision, to arrest my Lord of high treason. This conclusion fully resolved they caused Mr. Walche to prepare him to his journey with this commision, and certaine instructions annexed to the same; who made him ready to ride, and toke his horse at the courte gate about noone of All-hallowne day, towards my Lord of Northumberland. Nowe I am come to the place where I will declare that which I promised in the latter ende of the last chapiter, of a certaine signe or token of this my Lord his trouble; which thing was this.

My Lord sitting at dinner upon All-hallowne day, having[6] at his borde end diverse of his worshipful

[5] *The Earle of Northumberland.*] In the notes to the Northumberland Houshold Book, p. 428—431, Dr. Percy has produced, from the letters of this nobleman, some curious particulars illustrative of the harsh and unworthy treatment which he had formerly received from the Cardinal; and which, in the doctor's mind, are "a full vindication of the Earl from the charge of ingratitude, in being the person employed to arrest the Cardinal at his castle of Cawood."

[6] *At his borde end.*] "In the houses of our ancient nobility, they dined at long tables. The Lord and his principal guests sate at the upper end of the first table, in the Great Chamber, which was therefore called the Lord's Board-end. The officers of his houshold, and inferior guests, at long tables below

shipful Chapleines, sitting at dinner to keep him company, for lacke of strangers, ye shall understande, that accustomably my Lord his great crosse stoode in a corner, at the table's ende, leaning against the tappet or hanging. And when the borde's ende was taken up, and a convenient time for the Chapleines to arise, they forsed themselves to arise from the table; and even as they rose one Doctor Augustine, a Venetian and physitian to my Lorde, rising from the table with the other, having upon him a greate gowne of boysterous velvet, overthrew my Lorde's great crosse, which stode in the way at the borde's ende; and trayling downe along the tappet, it fell upon Doctor Bonner's head, who stood by the tappet; and the point brake his head a little, that the blode ran downe. The company there standing according to their duty ready to give thanks to my Lord for their dinner, were greatly astonied with the chaunce. My Lorde sitting in his chaire, and perceiving the same, demaunded of them being next him, what the matter meant of their sodaine amase. I shewed him of the fall of his crosse upon Doctor Bonner's head. "Hathe it," quoth he, "drawne any blond?" "Yea forsothe my Lord," quoth I. With that he cast his heade aside, loking soberly upon me a certaine space and sayd unto me (shaking his heade), "*malum omen;*"[7] and therewith said grace,

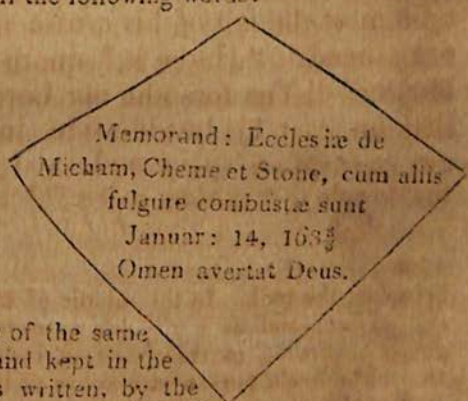
below in the hall. In the middle of each table stood a great salt cellar; and as particular care was taken to place the guests according to their rank, it became a mark of distinction, whether a person sate above or below the salt." Notes on the Northumberland Houshold Book, p. 419.

[7] *Malum omen.*] The enemies of Archbishop Laud, particularly in the time of his troubles, were fond of comparing him with Cardinal Wolsey: and there is reason to think, that this life was first printed in the year 1641, for the purpose of pre-

grace, and rose up from the table, and went into his bed chamber; but what he did there I knowe not. Nowe marke the signification, how my Lorde expounded this matter unto me at Pomfret, after his fall. Firste ye shall understande, that the crosse, whiche he bare as Archebishope of Yorke, signified himselfe; and Augustine, the physitian, who overthrewe the crosse, was only he that accused my Lord, whereby his enemies caught an occasion to overthrowe him. It fell upon Master Doctor Bonner's heade, who was master of my Lord's Faculties and Spirituall Jurisdictions, and was then damnified by the overthrowe of the crosse: yea, and moreover, drawing of the bloud

prejudicing that great Prelate in the minds of the people, by insinuating a parallel between him and the Cardinal. However this may have been, the expression in the text recals to memory an affecting anecdote respecting Laud, which the reader will not be displeased to find in this place.

The year 1639, we all know, was big with events calamitous to Laud, and to the church and monarchy. In the Lambeth library is preserved a small pane of glass, in which are written with a diamond pencil the following words:



On a piece of paper of the same size with the glass, and kept in the same case with it, is written, by the hand of Abp. Wake (as my friend, Mr. Todd, M. S. Librarian to his Grace, the present Archbishop, informs me) as follows: "This glasse was taken out of the West-window of the gallery at Croydon before I new-built it: and is, as I take it, the writing of Abp. Laud's own hand."

of

of him betokened deathe, which shortly after did ensue; about which time of this mischaunce, the same very day and season, Mr. Walche tooke his horse at the courte gate, as nighe as it could be judged. And so it must needes be taken for a signe or token of that which after followed, if the circumstaunce be equally weighed and considered; wherein, as I suppose, God shewed him some more secrette knowledge of his latter daies and ende of his troubles: wherein it was thought that he had further inspiration than all men did knowe; which appeared righte well by diverse speciall communications that he had with me at diverse times of his last ende. And nowe that I have made manifest to you the effect of this prodigie and signe, I will retourne againe to my matter.

Nowe the appointed time drewe neare of his stallation; and sitting at dinner, upon the Friday next before the Monday on the which he intended to be stalled at Yorke, the Earle of Northumberlande and Mr. Walche, with a great company of gentlemen of the Earle's house, and of the country, whom he gathered together in the King's name, to accompany them, not knowing to what intent, came into the hall at Cawood, the officers being at dinner, and my Lord not fully dined, being then in his fruites, nor knowing of the Earle's being in the hall. The first thing that the Earle did, after he had set order in the hall, he commaunded the porter of the gates to deliver him the keies thereof; who would in no wise obey his commaundement, althoughe he were roughely threatened, and streightly commaunded in the King's name, to make delivery of them to one of the Earle's servants, but perceiving that, saide then unto the Earle, "Sir, seeing that you doe but intend to set one of your servants in my place, to kepe the gates

for

for your pleasure; I knowe no servant that ye have, but that I am as able as he to doe it, and keepe the gates to your purpose, whatsoever it be. And also, the keies were delivered to me by my Lorde my master, who charged me with them, bothe by othe, and other precept and commaundement. Therefore I pray you, my goode Lorde, to pardon me, though I doe not obey your commaundement. For whatsoever ye shall commaunde me to doe in the ministration of mine office, I shall doe it with as good a will, and as justly, as any other of your servants, whatsoever he be." With that quoth the gentlemen, being there with the Earle, who hearde him speake so stoutely, "Sir, he is a goode fellowe, and a faithfull servaunte to his master; and speaketh like an honest man: therefore give him your charge, and let him keepe still the gates; whome we doubte not but he will be obedient to your commaundement." "Well then," quoth the Earle, "holde him a boke, and commaund him to lay his hand thereon." "Thou shalt sweare," quoth the Earle, "that thou shalt well and truly keepe the gates, by our commaundement, to the King our Soveraigne Lorde's use, being his Graces commisioners; and to doe all suche things as we shall commaunde, and as to us shall seeme good, for the time of our abode here; and that ye shall let passe neither in nor out at these gates, but such as you shall be commaunded by us, from time to time," and with this othe he received the keies at the Earle's and Mr. Walche's hands.

Of all these doings knewe my Lord nothing; for they stopped the staire, so that none went up to my Lorde his chamber, and they that came downe could no more goe up againe. At the last one escaped, who came up, and shewed my Lorde that the Earle of Northumberland was in the hall;

whereat my Lord marvailed, and would not beleve him at the first; but commaunded a gentleman, being his Gentleman Usher, to loke and bringe him the truthe, whether it were he or no. Who going downe the staires, where was a loop with a lattise, where through he looked into the hall, he sawe my Lord of Northumberlande; and went no further, but returned, and shewed my Lorde it was very he. "Then," quoth my Lorde, "I am sorry that we have dined; for I feare that our officers be not provided of any store of good fishe, to make him some honnorable cheere, according to his estate; notwithstanding he shall have suche as we have, with a righte good will. Let the table stande," quoth he, "and we will goe downe, and mete him, and bring him up; and then shall he see how farre forthe we be at our dinner." With that he put the table from him, and rose up; and going downe the staires he encountered the Earle, whome he met upon the middest of the staires, comming up, with all his men at his taile. And assone as my Lorde espied the Earle, he put off his cappe, and saide, "My Lorde ye are most hartely welcome;" (and so embraced eche other). My Lord Cardinall saide, "Although that I have often desired, and wished in my harte to see you in my house, yet if ye had loved me well, ye would have sent me word before of your comming, to the intente I might have received you according to your honnor. Notwithstanding ye shall have suche cheere as I can make you, with a righte good will; trusting that ye will accept the same of me as of your very loving friend, hoping hereafter to see you oftner, when I shall be more able to entertaine you with better fare." And this saide, my Lorde toke the Earle by the hande, and had him up into the chamber; whome followed all the number of the

the Earle's servants. And when my Lorde came into the chamber, he led the Earle to the fire, and sayd, "Sir, my Lord, ye shall goe into my bed chamber, where ye shall have a good fire, untill your chamber be made ready for you; and let my Lorde's male be brought up: and or ever I goe, I pray you give me leave to take these gentlemen, your servants, by the hands." And when he had taken them all by the hands, he returned to the Earle, saying, "I perceive well my Lorde, that ye have not altogether forgot my olde precepts, and counsell, which I gave you, when you were with me in your youthe, to cherishe my Lorde your father's olde servants, which I see here present with you. Surely, my Lorde, ye doe therein very well and nobly, like a wise gentleman. For these be they who will not only love you, but also live and die with you, and be true to you, and glad to see you prosper in honnor; the whiche I beseeche God to send you, with long life." This saide, he toke the Earle by the hand, and led him into his bed chamber. And they beinge there all alone, save only I, who kept the dore, according to my duty, being Gentleman Usher; these two Lordes standing at a windowe by the chimney, the Earle trembling saide unto my Lorde, with a soft voice (laying his hand upon his arme), "My Lorde, I arrest you of highe treason." With which wordes my Lorde was marvailously astonied, standing bothe still without any more wordes a good space. But at the last, quoth my Lord, "What authority have you to arrest me?" "Forsothe my Lorde," quoth the Earle, "I have a commision so to doe." "Where is your commision," quoth my Lord, "that I may see it?" "Nay Sir, that you may not," saide the Earle. "Well then," quoth my Lord, "hold you contented; then will I not obey

your arrest: for there hath bine between your auncestors and my predicessors great contentions and debate of an auncient grudge, which may succede in you, and growe unto the like inconvenience, as it hath done betwene your auncestors and my predicessors. Therefore, without I see your authority from above, I will not obey you." Even as they were debating this matter betwene them in the chamber, so busy was Mr. Walche in arresting of Doctor Augustine, at the dore in the pallace, saying unto him, "Go in traitor, or I shall make thee." And with that, I opened the portall dore, perceiving them both there. Mr. Walche thrust Doctor Augustine in before him with violence. These matters on bothe sides astonied me very much, musing what all this should meane; untill at the last, Mr. Walche, being entered my Lord his chamber, began to plucke off his hoode, which he had made him of the same clothe, whereof his coate was, which was of Shrewesbury cotton, to the intent he would not be knowne. And after he had plucked off his hoode, he kneled downe to my Lorde, to whome my Lord sayd, "Come hether gentleman, and let me speake with you," commanding him to stand up, saying thus, "Sir, here my Lorde of Northumberland hathe arrested me, but by whose authority or commision he sheweth me not; but saith, he hath one. If ye be privy thereto, or be joined with him therein, I pray you shewe me." "Indeede my Lorde, if it please your Grace," quoth Mr. Walche, "he sheweth you the truthe." "Well then," quoth my Lord, "I pray you let me see it." "Sir, I beseche you," quoth Mr. Walche, "hold us excused! There is annexed to our commision certaine instructions which ye may not see, ne yet be privy to the same." "Why," quoth my Lorde,

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"be your instructions suche that I may not see them? peradventure, if I mighte be privy to them, I could helpe you the better to perform them. It is not unknowne, but I have been privy and of counsell in as weighty matters as these be: and I doubte not for my parte, but I shall prove myselfe a true man, against the expectation of all my cruell enemies. I see the matter whereupon it groweth. Well, there is no more to doe. I trowe ye are one of the King's Privy Chamber; your name is Walche. I am content to yelde to you, but not to my Lord of Northumberland, without I see his commision. And also you are a sufficient commisioner in that behalfe, in as much as ye be one of the King's Privy Chamber; for the worst there is a sufficient warrant to arrest the greatest pere in this realme, by the King's only commaundement, without any commision. Therefore I am at your will to order and to dispose: put therefore your commision and authority in execution: spare not, and I will obey the King's will. I feare more the malice and cruelty of my mortall enemies, than I doe the untruthe of my allegiance; wherein, I take God to my judge, I never offended the King in worde ne dede; and therein I dare stand face to face with any man alive, having indifferency, without partiality."

Then came my Lord of Northumberland unto me, standinge at the portall dore, and commaunded me to avoide the chamber: and being lothe to departe from my master, I stode still, and would not remove; to whome he spake againe, and said unto mee, "There is no remedy, ye must departe." With that I loked upon my Lord (as whoe would say, shall I goe?), upon whome my Lorde loked very heavily, and shoke at mee his heade. And perceiving by his countenaunce it

boted me not to abide, I departed the chamber, and went into the next chamber, where abode many gentlemen of my fellowes, and other, to learne of me some newes; to whome I made reporte what I sawe and hearde; which was great heaviness unto them all.

Then the Earle called into the chamber diverse gentlemen of his owne servants; and after that he and Mr. Walche had taken my Lorde's keies from him, they gave the charge and custody of my Lorde unto five gentlemen. And then they went aboute the house to set all things in order, intending to departe from thence the next day (being Saturday) with my Lord; howbeyt it was Sonday towards nighte or ever they coulde bringe all things to passe to departe. Then went they busily about to convey Doctor Augustine away to London, with as much speede as they could, sending with him diverse persons to conducte him, which was bounde unto his horse like a traitor. And this done, when it came to nighte, the commisioners assigned two gromes of my Lordes to attend upon him in the chamber where he lay that nighte; and all the rest of my Lord of Northumberland's gentlemen watched in the next chamber; and so was all the house watched, and the gates verie surely kepte, that no man could either passe or repasse, in or out, untill the next morning. At which time my Lorde rose up about eighte of the clocke, and made him ready to ride; where he was kept still close in his chamber, expecting his departing from thence. Then the Earle sent for me into his chamber, and being there he commaunded me to goe to my Lord, and give attendaunce upon him, and charged me with an othe upon certaine articles to observe aboute him. And going my way toward my Lorde, I met with Mr. Walche in the courte, who called me unto

unto him, and led me into his chamber, and there shewed me how the king's majestie bare towards me his princely favor, for my dilligent and true service that I ministered daily to my lorde and master. "Wherefore," quoth he, "the king's pleasure is, that ye shall be aboute him, as most cheife in whome his highness putteth great confidence and trust; and whose pleasure is therefore, that ye shall be sworne unto him to observe certaine articles, which you shall have delivered you in writinge." "Sir," quoth I, "my lorde of Northumberlande hath already sworne me to diverse articles." "Yea," quoth he, "but he could not deliver you the articles in writinge, as I am commaunded specially to doe. Therefore, I deliver here unto you this bill with articles in writinge; loke upon them, whether ye can observe them or no; for ye shall not receive them of me without an oathe, for the fulfilling of them." And when I had perused them, and sawe them but reasonable and tollerable, I aunswered, that I was contented to obey the king's pleasure, and to be sworne to the performaunce of them. And so he gave me a new othe: and then I resorted unto my lorde, where he was sitting in a chaire, the tables being spred for him to goe to dinner. But as soone as he perceived me to come in, he fell out into suche a wofull lamentation, with such ruthefull teares and watery eies, that it would have caused a flinty harte to mourne with him. And as I could, I with others comforted him; but it would not be. For, quoth he, "Nowe I lament, that I see this gentleman (meaning me) how faithefull, how dilligent, and how painefull he hath served me, abandonning his owne country, wife, and children; his house and family, his rest and quietnesse, only to serve me, and I have nothinge to rewarde him for his

his highe meritties. And also the sighte of him causethe me to call to my remembrance the nomber of faithfull servauntes, that I have here with me; whome I did intend to preferre and advaunce, to the best of my powre, from time to time, as occasion should serve. But now, alas! I am prevented, and have nothing here to rewarde them; all is deprived me, and I am left here their miserable and wretched master. Howbeyt," quoth he to me (calling me by my name), "I am a true man, and ye shall never have shame of me for your service." "Sir," quoth I unto him (perceiving his heaviness), "I doe nothinge mistruste your truthe: and for the same will I depose bothe before the king, and his honnorable counsell. Wherefore, sir," (kneeling upon my knee) "comforte yourselfe, and be of good cheere. The malice of your ungodly enemies can, ne shall not prevaile. I doubt not but comming to your aunswer, my hearte is suche, that ye shall clearely acquit yourselfe, so to your commendation and truthe, as that, I trust, it shall be much to your great honnour, and restitution unto your former estate." "Yea," quoth he, "if I may come to my aunswer, I feare no man alive; for he liveth not that shall look upon this face (pointing to his owne face), that shall be able to accuse me of any untruthe; and that knowe well mine enemies, which will be an occasion that they will not suffer me to have indifferent justice, but seeke some sinister meanes to dispatch me." "Sir," quoth I, "ye neede not therein to doubte, the king being so muche your good lorde, as he hath allwaies shewed himselfe to be, in all your troubles." With that came up my lorde his meate; and so we lefte our former communication, and I gave my lorde water, and set him downe to dinner; who did eate very

very little meate, but very many times sodainely he would burste out in teares, with the most sorrowfull words that have bine hearde of any woefull creature. And at the laste he fetched a great sighe, and saide this texte of scripture[8] in this wise, "*O constantia Martirum laudabilis! O charitas inextinguibilis! O pacientia invincibilis, quæ licet inter pressuras persequentium visa sit despicabilis, invenietur in laudem et gloriam ac honorem in tempore tribulationis.*" And thus passed he forthe his dinner in great lamentation and heaviness, who was fed more with weping teares, than with any delicate meates that were set before him. I suppose there was not a drie eie among all the gentlemen, that were there attending upon him. And when the table was taken up, we expected continually our removing, untill it drewe to nighte; and then it was shewed my lorde that he could not goe away that nighte; but on the morrow, by God's grace, he should departe. "Even then," quoth he, "when my lord of Northumberland shall be pleased." Wherefore it was concluded, that he should tarry untill the next day, being Sonday.

On which day my lord rose in the morning, and prepared him ready to ride, after he had hearde masse; and by that time he had saide all his divine service, it was dinner time; and after dinner the earle appointed all things, how it should be order-

[8] *Texte of Scripture.*] The words which follow, I apprehend, are part of some ecclesiastical hymn. It was not unusual to attribute the name of *Scripture* to all such compositions; and to whatever was read in churches. "Also I said and affirmed" (the words are part of the recantation of a Wickliffite) "that I held *no Scripture* catholike nor holy, but onely that is contained in the Bible. For the legends and lives of saints I held hem nought; and the miracles written of hem, I held untrue." *Fox's Acts*, p. 591.

ed;

ed; and by that time it was nere nighte. There were appointed to waite upon him diverse persons, among whom I my selfe, and foure more of his owne servaunts were assigned unto him. First his chaplen, two groomes and his barber: and as we were going downe out of the great chamber, my lorde demaunded where his servaunts were become; the which the earle and Mr. Walche had inclosed within the chappell there, because they should not trouble his passage. Notwithstanding my lord would not goe downe untill he had a sighte of his servauntes; to whom it was aunswered that he might not see them. "Why so?" then quoth my lord. "I will not out of this house, but I will see my servaunts, and take my leave of them before I will goe any further." And his servauntes, being in the chappell, having understanding that my lord was going away, and that they should not see him before his departure, they began to grudge, and to make suche a rutheful noise, that the commisioners were in doubte of a tumulte, to tarry among them; wherefore they were let out, and suffered to repaire to my lord, in the great chamber; where they kneled downe before him; among whome was no one drie eye, but earnestly lamented their master's fall and trouble. To whome my lord gave comfortable wordes, and worthy praises for their dilligence, honesty, and truthe done to him heretofore, assuring them, that what chaunce soever shall happen him, he was a very true and a just man to his sovereigne lord. And thus with a lamentable manner, shaked every of them by the hand.

Then was he constrained to departe, the nighte drewe so faste on. And so my lord his horse, and ours were ready brought into the inner courte; where we mounted, and comming to the gate to ride

ride out, which was shut, the porter opening the same to let us passe, there was ready attending a great nomber of gentlemen with their servauntes, such as the earle had appointed for that purpose, to attend and conducte my lord to Pomfret that nighte, and so forthe, as ye shall hereafter heare. But to tell you of the nomber of the people of the country that were assembled at the gate to lament his departing, I suppose they were in nomber above three thousand people; which at the opening of the gates, after they had a sighte of him, cried with a loude voice, "God save your grace, God save your grace! The foull evill take them that have thus taken you from us! We pray God that a very vengeaunce may lighte upon them!" Thus they ran after him, crying through the towne of Cawood, they loved him so well. Surely they had a great losse of him, bothe riche and poore: for the poore had by him great reliefe; and the riche lacked not his counsell and helpe in all their troubles; which caused him to have such love among the people of the country.

Then rode he with his conductors towards Pomfret; and by the way as he rode, called me unto him, asking me if I had any gentleman of mine acquaintance among the nomber that rode with him. "Yea sir," sayd I, "what is your pleasure?" "Mary," quoth he, "I have lefte a thinge behinde that I would faine have; the whiche I would most gladly send for." "If I knewe," quoth I, "what it were, I should send one incontinent backe againe for it." "Then," saide he, "let the messenger goe to my lorde of Northumberlande, and desire him to send me the red buckram bagge, lying in my allmery in my chamber, sealed with my seale." With that I departed from him, and went streight unto one Sir Roger Lassels, knighte, and stewarde with

with the earle (being one among the route), and desired him to cause some of his servaunts to return to my lord of Northumberland for that purpose; who graunted my requeste most gently, and thereupon sent incontinent one of his trusty servaunts with all spede back againe to Cawood for the said bagge; who did so honestly his message, that he brough the same unto my lord shortly after he was in his chamber at the abbey of Pomfret; where he laye all nighte. In which bagge was no other thing inclosed but three sheartes of heare, the which he delivered unto his chaplen and ghostly father secretly.

Furthermore, as he rode towarde Pomfret, he demaunded of me, whither they would leade him that nighte. "Mary sir," quoth I, "to Pomfret." "Alas," quoth he, "shall I goe to the castle, and lie there, and dye like a beaste?" "Sir, I can tell you no more," quoth I, "what they intend to doe; but sir, I will enquire of a secret friend of mine in this company, who is chiefe of all their counsells."

With that I repaired unto the saide Roger Lassels, and desired him as earnestly as I could, that he would vouchsafe to shewe me, whither my lord should go to be lodged that nighte; who aunswered me againe that my lord should be lodged in the abbey of Pomfret, and in none other place; the which I reported to my lord, who was glad thereof; so that within nighte we came to Pomfret, and there lodged within the abbey as is aforesaide.

And my lord of Northumberland continued all that nighte at Cawood, to see the dispatche of the household, and to establishe all the stuffe within the same in security.

The next day my Lord removed towards Doncaster, and came into the towne by torche lighte, the which was his desire, because of the people.

Yet

Yet notwithstanding, the people were assembled, and cried out upon him, "God save your grace, God save your grace, my good lord cardinall," running before him with candles in their hands; who caused me to ride by his side to shadowe him from the people; and yet they perceived him, and lamented his misfortune, cursing his accusers. And thus they brought him to the Black-friars, within the which he was lodged.

And the next day we removed and rode to Sheffilde parke, where my lord of Shrewsbury lay with in the lodge, the people all the way thitherwarde still lamenting him, crying as they did before. And when we came into the parke of Sheffild nighe to the lodge, my lord of Shrewesbury, with my lady and a traine of gentlewomen, and all other his gentlemen and servaunts, stode without the gates, to attend my lordes comming, to receive him; at whose alighting the earle received him with much honnour, and embraced my lord saying these wordes, "My lord," quoth he, "your grace is most hartely welcome unto me, and I am glad to see you here in my pore lodge, where I have long desired to see you, and should have been much more gladder, if you had come after an other sorte." "Ay, my gentle lord of Shrewesbury," quoth my lord, "I hartely thank you: and although I have cause to lament, yet, as a faithfull harte may, I doe rejoice, that my chaunce is to come unto the custody of so noble a person, whose approved honnour and wisedome hath allwaies bin right well knowne to all noble estates. And, sir, howsoever my accusers have used their accusations against me, this I knowe, and soe before your lordship, and all the world, I doe protest, that my demeanour and procedinges have allwaies bin both just and loyall towardes my sovereigne and leige lord;

lord; of whose usage in his grace's affaires your lordship hath had right good experience; and even accordinge to my truthe, so I beseeche God to helpe me!" "I doubt not," quoth my lord of Shrewesbury, "of your truthe. Therefore, my lord, be of good cheere, and feare not; for I am nothing sorry, but that I have not wherewith to entertaine you, according to my good will and your honnour; but such as I have, ye shall be wellcome to it; for I will not receive you as a prisonner, but as my good lord, and the king's true and loving subject; and sir, here is my wife come to salute you." Whome my lord kissed, with his cappe in his hand bareheaded, and all the other gentlemen; and tooke all the earle's servants by the hands, as well gentlemen as yeomen. This done, these two lordes went into the lodge, arme in arme, and so conducted my lord into a faire gallery, where was in the further end thereof a goodly towre with lodgings, where my lord was lodged. There was also in the middest of the same gallery a traverse of sarsenet drawne; so that the one end thereof was preserved for my lord, and the other for the earle.

Then departed from my lord all the great nomber of gentlemen and other that conducted him thither. And my lord, being thus with my lord of Shrewsbury, continued there eighteen daies after; upon whome my lord of Shrewsbury appointed diverse worthy gentlemen to attend continually, to foresee that he should lacke nothing that he would desire, being served in his owne chamber at dinner, and supper, as honnorably, and with as many dainty dishes, as he had in his owne house commonly being at liberty. And once every day my lord of Shrewsbury would repaire unto him, and common with him, sitting upon a bench in a great windowe in the gallery. And allthoughe that my said

said lord of Shrewsbury would right hartely comforte him, yet would he lament so piteously, that it would make my lord of Shrewsbury to be very heavy, for his griefe. "Sir", said he, "I have and doe daily receive letters from the king, commanding me to entertaine you, as one that he highly favoureth and loveth; whereby I doe perceive ye doe lament more than ye have cause to doe. And although ye be accused (as I trust wrongfully), yet the king can doe no lesse but to put you to your trial, the which is more for the satisfying of some persons, than for any mistrust that he hath of your traiterous doings." "Alas! my lord," quoth my lord cardinall, "is it not a pitteous case, that any man should so wrongfully accuse me unto the king, and not to come to the king to my aunswer before his grace? For I am well assured my lord, that there is no man alive that loketh in this face of mine, who is able to accuse me. It grieveth me very much that the king should have any such opinion in me, to thinke that I would be false or conspire any evill to his person; who may well consider, that I have no assured friends in all the world, but only his grace; soe that if I should go about to betray my sovereign lord and prince, in whom is all my trust and confidence before all other, all men mighte justly thinke and say, that I lacked bothe grace, wit, and discretion. Nay, nay my lord, I would rather adventure to sheade my harte bloud in his defence, as I am bound, bothe for my allegiance and for my safeguard; for he is my staffe that supporteth me, and the wall that defendeth me against all these my corrupt enemies, and all other: who knoweth me, and my true dilligent proceedings in all his affaires and doings, much better than any of them. Therefore to conclude, it is not to be thought that ever I

would maliciously or traiterously travaill or wishe any hurte or damage to his royall person or imperiall dignity, but, as I saide before, defend it with the very sheading of my harte bloud, and if it were but only for mine owne defense, to preserve mine estate and simple life, that which mine enemies thinke I doe so much esteeme; having no other refuge to fly unto for protection and defense, but only under the shadowe of his wings. Alas! my lord, I was in a good estate now, and lived quietly, being right well contented with the same. But mine enemies who never slepe, but continually study both sleping and waking to rid me out of the way, perceiving the contentation of my mind, douted that if I lived, their mallicious and cruell dealings would growe at lengthe to their shame, rebuke and open slaunder; and therefore would prevent the same with the shedding of my bloud. But from God, that knoweth the secret of their hartes, and of all others, it cannot be hid, ne yet unrewarded, when he shall see opportunity. And, my good lord, if you would shewe yourself so much my good friend, as to require the king's majestie that mine accusers may come before my face in his presence, and there that I may make aunswer, I doubte not but ye shall see me acquite myselfe of all their malicious accusations, and utterly confound them; for they shall never be able to prove by any due probation, that ever I offended the king either in thought, worde, or dede. Therefore I desire you, and most hartely require your good lordship, to be a meane for me, that I may aunswer unto my accusations before the king's majestie. The case is his, and if their accusations were true, then should it touche him more earnestly; wherefore it were convenient that he should heare it himselfe. But I feare me, that they intend

to

to dispatche me, rather then I should come before his presence; for they be well assured, and very certaine, that my truthe should vanquishe all their accusations and untrue surmises; which is the especiall cause that maketh me so earnestly desire to make mine aunswer before the king's majestie. The losse of goods, the slaunder of my name, ne yet all my trouble grieveth me any thing so much, as the losse of the king's favor, and that he should have in me such an opinion, without deserte, of untruthe, that have with such travaill and paines served the king so justly, so paynfully, and with so good an harte, to his profit and honnor at all times. And against the truthe of my doings, their accusations proved by me to be unjust, should doe me more pleasure and good, than the obteining much treasure; as I doubt not to doe, if the case might be indifferently heard. Nowe my good lord, weighe my reasonable request, and let charity and truthe move your harte with pitty, to helpe me in all this my truthe, wherein you shall take no manner of rebuke or slaunder, by the grace of God." "Well then," saide my lord of Shrewsbury, "I will write to the king in your behalfe, declaring to him by my letters howe ye lament his indignation and displeasure; and also what request ye make for the triall of your truthe towardes his highness." And after diverse other communications as they were accustomed daily to have, they departed asunder.

Remayning there thus with my lord the space of a fortnight, having goodly enterteinement, and often desired by the earle to kill a doe or harte in his parke there, who allwaies refused to take any pleasure either in hunting or otherwise, but applied his praiers continually with great devotion; so that it came to passe at a certaine time as he sat at dinner

dinner in his owne chamber, having at his bordes ende the same day, as he accustomably had every day, a messe of gentlemen and chaplens to kepe him company, towardes the ende of his dinner, when he came to the eating of his fruites, I perceived his colour often to change, whereby I judged him not to be in good health. With that I leaned over the table, and speaking softly unto him, saide, "Sir, me seemeth your grace is not well at ease." To whom he aunswered and saide, with a loude voice, "Forsothe, no more I am; for I am, quoth he, taken sodenly with a thing about my stomake, that lieth there along, as could as a whetstone; whiche is no more but winde; therefore I pray you take up the table, and make a short dinner, and that done resorte shortly againe." And after the meate was carried out of the chamber, into the gallery, where all the waiters dined, and every man set, I rose up and forsoke my dinner, and came into the chamber unto my lord, where I found him still sitting very ill at ease; notwithstanding he was commoning with them at the borde's end, whome he had commaunded to sit still. And as sone as I was entered the chamber, he desired me to go to the poticary, and enquire of him if he had any thinge that would make him breake winde upwarde. Then went I to the earle, and shewed him what estate my lord was in, and what he desired. With that my lord of Shrewsbury caused incontinent the poticary to be called before him; and at his comming he demaunded of him, if he had any thinge that would break winde upwarde in a man's body; and he aunswered that he had such geare. "Then," quoth the earle, "fetche me some." Then departed the poticary, and brought with him a white confection in a faire paper, and shewed it unto my lord, who commaunded me to give the

saye

saye thereof before him, and so I did. And I toke the same and brought it to my lord, whereof also I tooke the saye myself, and then delivered it to my lord, who received it up all at once into his mouthe. But immediately after he had received the same, surely he avoided much winde exceedingely, upwarde. "Lo," quoth he, "you may see it was but winde; and nowe am I well eased, I thanke God:" and so rose from the table, and went to his praiers, as he used every day after dinner. And that done, there came upon him such a laske, that it caused him to go to the stole; and being there, my lord of Shrewsbury sent for me, and at my repaire to him he saide: "For as much as I have allwaies perceived you to be a man, in whome my lord your master hathe great affiaunce; and also knowing you to be an honest man (with many more wordes of commendation and praise, than becometh me here to recite), it is so, that my lord your master hath often desired me to write to the king, that he mighte come before his presence, to aunswer to his accusations; and even so have I done; and this day have I received letters from the king's grace, by Sir William Kingstone, whereby I perceive that the king hath in him a good opinion; and by my request, he hath sent for him, by the same Sir William, to come unto him; who is in his chamber. Wherefore nowe is the time come that my lord hath often desired to try himselfe, I truste, muche to his honnor; and it shall be the best journey that ever he made in his life. Therefore nowe would I have you to play the parte of a wise man, to break this matter wittily unto him, in suche sorte, that he may take it quietly, and in good parte: for he is ever so full of sorrowe and heaviness, at my being with him, that I feare me he will take it in evill parte, and then

doeth he not well: for I assure you, and so shewe him, that the king is his good lord, and hath given me most worthy thanks for his enterteinement, desiring and commanding me so to continue, not doubting but that he will right nobly acquite himself towards his highness. Therefore, go your waies to him, and perswade with him that I may finde him in good quiet at my comming, for I will not tarry long after you." "Sir," quoth I, "if it please your lordship, I shall indevour me to the best of my powre, to accomplishe your lordship's commaundement. But Sir, I doubte, that when I shall name Sir William Kingstone to him, he will mistrust that all is not well; because Mr. Kingstone is constable of the towre, and capitaine of the guarde, having with him, as I understande, twenty foure of the guarde to attend upon him." "Mary it is truthe;" quoth the earle, "what thereof, although he be constable of the towre? he is the most meetest man for his wisedom and discretion to be sent about any such message. And for the guarde, it is for none other purpose but only to defend him against them that would intend him any evill, either in worde or deede; and they be all, or for the most parte, such of his olde servants as the king toke of late into his service, to the intent that they should attend upon him most justly, knowing beste how to serve him." "Well Sir," saide I, "I shall doe what I can," and so departed from him towards my lord.

And as I repaired unto him, I found him sitting at the upper ende of the gallery, upon a cheste, with his staffe and his beades in his hands. And espying me comming from the earle, demaunded of me, what newes. "Forsothe Sir," quoth I, "the beste newes that ever came to you; if your grace can take it well." "I pray God it be," quoth he, "what is it?" "Forsothe Sir," saide I,

" my lord of Shrewsbury, perceiving by your often communication with him, that ye were allwaies desirous to come before the king's majestie, he as your most assured friend hath travailed so with his letters unto the king, that he hath sent for you, by Mr. Kingstone and twenty four of the guarde, to conduct you to his highness." " Mr. Kingstone," quoth he, rehersing his name[7] once or twise; and with that clapped his hand on his thighe, and gave a great sighe. " Sir," quoth I, " if it please your grace if you would or could take all things in good parte, it should be much better for you. Content yourself for God's sake, and thinke that God and your friends have wrought for you, according to your owne desire. Did ye not allwaies wishe, that ye might cleare yourselfe before the king; and now that God and your friends have brought your desire to passe, ye will not take it thankfully? If ye consider your truthe and loyalty to our soveraigne lorde, against the which your enemies cannot prevaile, the king being your good lord as he is, ye know well, the king can doe no lesse than he doeth to you, being to his highness accused of some heinous crime, but cause you to be brought to your tryall, and there to receave according to your meritts; the which his highness

[7] *Rehersing his name.*] " I know not whether or no it be worth the mentioning here (however we will put it on the adventure), but Cardinal Wolsey, in his life time was informed by some fortune-tellers, *that he should have his end at Kingston.* This, his credulity interpreted of Kingston on Thames; which made him alwayes to avoid the riding through that town, though the nearest way from his house to the court. Afterwards, understanding that he was to be committed by the king's express order to the charge of Sir Anthony Kingston (see Henry Lord Howard in his Book against Prophecies, chap. 28, fol. 130), it struck to his heart; too late perceiving himself deceived by that father of lies in his homonymous prediction." Fuller's *Church History.* Book 5. p. 178.

trusteth, and saithe no lesse, but that you shall prove yourselfe a just man to his majestie, wherein ye have more cause to rejoice, than thus to lament, or to mistrust the favorable ministration of due justice. For I assure you, your enemies be more afraide of you, than you of them; and doubting you so much, they wishe the thinge, that they shall never I truste bring to passe with all their wittes, the king (as I sayd before) being your indifferent judge, and your earnest friend. And to prove that he so is, see you not how he hathe sent gentle Mr. Kingstone, to honnour you with as much honnour, as was due to you in your high estate; and to convey you by such easy journies, as you will commaund him to doe; and that ye shall have all your desires and requests by the way in every place, to your grace's contentation and honnour. Wherefore Sir, I humbly beseeche your grace, to imprinte all these persuasions and many other like, in your highe discretion,. and be of good cheere; wherewith ye shall comforte yourselfe, and give all your friends and servants good hope of your good spede." "Well, well, then," quoth he, "I perceive more than ye can imagine, or doe knowe. Experience of olde hath taught me." And therewith he rose up, and went into his chamber, and went to the stoole, the laske troubled him so sore; and when he had done, he came out againe; and immediately after my lord of Shrewsbury came into the gallery unto him, with whome my lord met, and then sitting downe there upon a benche in a great bay windowe, the earle asked him how he did, and he most lamentably, as he was accustomed to do, aunswered him, and thanked him for his gentle enterteinement. "Sir," quoth the earle, "if ye remember ye have often wished to come before the king, to make your aunswer: and I perceiving

ceiving your often desire and earnest request, as one that beareth you good will, have written especially unto the king in that behalfe; making him privy also of your lamentable sorrowe, that ye inwardly have received of his displeasure; who accepteth all your doings therein, as friends be accustomed to do in such cases. Wherefore I would advise you to pluck up your harte, and be not agast of your enemies, who I assure you be more in doubt of you, than you would thinke, perceiving that the king is minded to have the hearing of your case before his own person. Nowe, Sir, if you can be of good cheere, I doubt not but this journey which you shall take up unto his highness, shall be much to your advauncement, and an overthrowe to your enemies. The king hath sent for you by the worshipfull knight Mr. Kingstone, and with him twenty four of your old servantes, nowe of the guarde, to defend you against your enemies, to the intent that ye may safely come unto his majestie." "Sir," quoth my lord, "I trowe that Mr. Kingstone is constable of the tower." "Yea, what of that?" quoth the earle, "I assure you he is elected of the king for one of your friends, and for a discreete gentleman, most worthy to take upon him the safeguarde and conduct of your person; which without faile the king much esteemeth, and secretly beareth you speciall favor, far otherwise than ye doe take it." "Well Sir," quoth my lord, "as God will, so be it. I am subjecte to fortune, and to fortune I submit myselfe, being a true man ready to accept such chaunces as shall followe, and there an ende: Sir I pray you, where is Mr. Kingstone?" "Mary," quoth the earle, "if you will, I will send for him, who would most gladly see you." "I pray you then," quoth my lord, "send for him." At whose message he came; and

and as soon as my lord espied him comming at the gallery ende, he made haste to encounter him. Mr. Kingstone came towards him with much reverence; and at his coming he kneeled downe unto him, and saluted him in the king's behalfe; whome my lord bare-headed offered to take up, but he still refused. Then quoth my lord, "Mr. Kingstone, I pray you to stand up, and leave your kneling unto me; for I am but a wretche replete with misery, not esteeming myselfe, but as a vile abject utterly cast away, without deserte, as God knoweth. And therefore, good Mr. Kingstone, stand up, or I will kneele downe by you;" whom he would not leave untill he stode up. Then spake Mr. Kingstone and saide, with humble reverence, "Sir, the king's majestie hath him commended unto you." "I thank his highness," quoth my lord, "I trust he is in health, and merry." "Yea, without doubt," quoth Mr. Kingstone: "and he commaunded me to say unto you, that you should assure yourselfe, that he beareth unto you as much good will and favour as ever he did; and willeth you to be of good cheere. And where reporte hath bin made unto him, that you should commit against his royall majestie certain heinous crimes, which he thinketh perfectly to be untrue, yet for the ministration of justice, in such cases requisite, he can doe no lesse than send for you to your triall, mistrusting nothing your truthe nor wisdome, but that ye shall be hable to requite yourselfe of all complaints and accusations exhibited against you; and to take your journey to him at your owne pleasure, commaunding me to attend upon you with ministration of due reverence, and to see your person preserved against all inconveniences that may ensue; and to elect all such your olde servauntes, nowe his, to serve you by the way, who

who have most experience of your diet. Therefore, Sir, I beseeche you be of good cheere; and when it shall be your owne pleasure to take your journey, I shall be ready to give attendaunce upon you." "Mr. Kingstone," quoth my lord, "I thanke you for your good newes: and Sir, hereof assure yourselfe, that if I were as able and lusty as I have bin but of late, I would not fail to ride with you in post: but Sir, I am diseased with a fluxe[5] that maketh me very weake. But Mr. Kingstone, all the comfortable wordes which ye have spoken unto me, be spoken but for a purpose to bring me into a fooles paradise: I knowe what is provided for me. Notwithstanding, I thank you for your good will, and paines taken about me; and I shall with all spede make me ready to ride with you to morrowe." And thus they fell into other communication, bothe the earle and Mr. Kingstone with my lorde; who commaunded me to foresee and provide that all things mighte be made ready to departe the morrowe after. Then caused I all

[5] *Diseased with a fluxe.*] In the printed editions the passage stands thus: "But alas! I am a diseased man, having a flux: (at which time it was apparent that *he had poysoned himself*) it hath made me very weak." p. 190. edit. 1706. "It is highly probable (says Dr. Fiddes in his Life of Wolsey, p. 499), this expression ought to be taken in a softer sense, than the words strictly import, and that Cavendish only intended by it, that he was poisoned by taking something prepared for him, by other hands." Dr. F. then proceeds to invalidate by reasoning the story of the cardinal having hastened his own death. But I apprehend, it cannot be thought that there is much force in the doctor's arguments. It is more important to observe, that it admits of great question, whether the words in the parenthesis are not altogether an interpolation. They do not occur in any MS. which I have seen. Still it is certain that the charge of his having poisoned himself, was repeated by contemporary writers, without scruple. See Tindall's *Works*, p. 404. *Supplication to the Queen's Majesty*, fol. 7. A. D. 1555. Fox's *Acts*, p. 959.

things

things to be trussed up, and made in a readiness as fast as they could conveniently.

When night came that we should goe to bed, my lorde waxed very sicke with the laske, the which caused him still continually from time to time to go to the stoole, all that night; in somuch that from the time that it tooke him, untill the next morning he had fifty stooles, so that he was that day very weake. His matter that he voided was wondrous blacke, the which the phisition called coller adustine; and when he perceived it, he saide to me, that if he had not some helpe shortly he shall dye. With that I caused one doctor Nicholas a doctor of phisicke, being with my lord of Shrewesbury to looke upon the grosse matter that he avoided; upon sight whereof he determined he should not live four or five daies; yet notwithstanding he would have ridden with Mr. Kingstone that same daie, if my lord of Shrewesbury had not beene. Therefore, in consideration of his infirmity they caused him to tarry all that day.

And the next day he tooke his journey, with Mr. Kingstone and them of the guarde. And as sone as they espied him, considering that he was their olde master, and in such estate, they lamented his misfortune, with weping eyes. Whome my lord toke by the hand, and many times, as he rode by the way, he would talke, nowe with one, then with an other, until he came to an house of my lord of Shrewesburys, called Hardwicke Hall, where he lay all that nighte very evill at ease. The next day he rode to Nottingham, and there lodged that nighte, more sicke, and the next day he rode to Leicester Abbey; and by the way he waxed so sicke, that he was almost fallen from his mule; so that it was nighte before we came to the abbey of Leicester, where at his comming in at the gate

gate the abbot with all his convent met him with diverse torches lighte; whom they right honorably received and welcomed with great reverence. To whome my lord saide, "Father Abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you," riding so still until he came to the staires of his chamber, where he alighted from his mule, and then master Kingstone tooke him by the arme, and led him up the stairs; who tould me afterwardes, he never felt so heavy a burden in all his life. And as sone as he was in his chamber, he went incontinent to his bed, very sicke. This was upon Satterday at nighte; and then continued he, sicker and sicker.

Upon Monday in the morning, as I stoode by his bed side, about eighte of the clocke, the windowes being close shut, and having waxe lightes burning upon the cupborde, I beheld him, as me seemed, drawing faste towardes deathe. He perceiving my shadowe upon the wall by the bed side, asked who was there? "Sir," quoth I, "I am here." "How doe you?" quoth he to me. "Very well, Sir," quoth I, "if I mighte see your grace well." "What is it of the clocke?" saide he to me. "Sir," said I, "it is past eight in the morning." "Eight of the clocke?" quoth he, "that cannot be," rehearsing diverse times, "eighte of the clocke," "eighte of the clocke," "nay, nay," quoth he at last, "it cannot be eighte of the clocke: for by eighte of the clocke shall you lose your master: for my time draweth neare, that I must departe this world." With that one doctor Palmes, a worshipful gentleman, being his chapleine and ghostly father, standing by, bad me secretly demand of him if he would be shriven, and to be in a readiness towardes God, whatsoever should chaunce. At whose desire I asked him that question. "What

have

have ye to doe to aske me any suche question?" quoth he, and began to be very angry with me for my presumption; untill at the laste Master Doctor tooke my parte, and talked with him in Lattine, and so pacified him.

At afternoone Master Kingstone sent for me into his chamber, and at my comming there saide to me, "So it is, that the king hath sent me letters by Master Vincent, one of your old companions, who hath bin in trouble in the towre for money that my lord should have at his last departing from him, which cannot nowe be founde. Wherefore the king, at this Vincents request, for the declaration of his truthe, hath sent him hither with his grace's letters, that I should examine my lord in that behalfe, and to have your counsell herein, to the intente my lorde may take it well and in good parte. This is the cause of my sending for you: therefore I pray you of your counsell, what way is beste to be taken therein, for the true acquittal of this pore gentleman, Master Vincent." "Sir," quoth I, "as touching that matter, after mine advice, ye shall in your owne person resorte unto him to visite him, and in communication breake the matter unto him. And if he will not tell the truthe, there be that can satisfy the kings minde therein. But in any wise, mention not, nor speake of my fellowe Vincent. And also I would advise you not to tracte the time with him; for he is very sicke, and I feare me he will not live past a day." Then went master Kingstone to visit him; and asked him first howe he did, and so forthe proceeded in conversation, wherein Master Kingstone demaunded of him of the sayd money saying, "that my lord of Northumberlande hath founde a booke at Cawood that reporteth, that you had but late fifteen hundred poundes; and it will not

not be founde, not so much as one penny thereof: who hath made the kings privy of the same. Wherefore the king hath written unto me, to demaund of you where it is become; for it were pitty that it should be imbeseled from you bothe. Therefore I shall require you, in the kings name, to tell me the truthe; to the intent that I may make just reporte unto his majestie of your answer therein." With that my lord paused a little and saide, "Oh, good Lorde! how much doth it grieve me that the king should think in me any such deceite, wherein I should deceive him of any one penny that I have. Rather than I would, Master Kingstone, imbeazle, or deceive him of one penny, I would it were moulten, and put into my mouthe;" which wordes he spake twise or thrice very vehemently. "I have nothing, ne never had (God be my judge), that I esteemed so much my owne, but that I tooke it ever to be the king's goods, having but the bare use thereof during my life; and after my death to leave it wholly to him: wherein he hath but prevented my intent and purpose. And for this money that ye demaund of me, I assure you that it is none of mine; for I borrowed it of diverse of my friends to burye me, and to bestowe among my servantes, who have taken great paines about me, like true and faithful servantes. Notwithstanding if it be his pleasure to have this money from me, I must hold me contente. Yet I would most humbly beseeche his Majestie, to see that satisfied, for the discharge of my conscience unto them that I owe it." "Who be they?" quoth Mr. Kingstone. "That shall I shewe you," saide my lorde. "I borowed two hundred poundes thereof of Sir John Allen of London; and an other two hundred poundes of Sir Richard Gresham of London; also other two hundred

hundred poundes of the master of the Savoie, also two hundred poundes of Doctor Hickden, deane of my colledge in Oxenforde: and two hundred poundes of the treasurer of the churche of Yorke; and also two hundred poundes of parson Ellis my chaplen; and another one hundred poundes of a priest, that was then his stewarde, whose name I have forgotten; to whome I trust the king will restore the same againe, for as much as it is none of mine." "Sir," quoth Mr. Kingstone, "there is no doubte in the king; whom ye need not to mistrust in that, but when the king shall be advertised hereof, as I shall reporte, at my retourne, of your earnest request therein, his grace will doe as shall become him. But sir, I pray you, where is this money?" "Mr. Kingstone," quoth my lord, "I "will not conceale it from the king; but will declare it unto you, or I dye, by the grace of God. Take a little patience with me, I beseeche you." "Well sir, then will I trouble you no more at this time, trusting that ye will tell me to morrowe." "Yea, that I will, Mr. Kingstone, for the money is safe enoughe, and in an honest man's keeping; who will not kepe one penny thereof from the king." And then the abbot of Leicester sent for Mr. Kingstone to supper; who then departed for that nighte.

Howbeyt my lord waxed very sicke, most likely to die that nighte, and often swooned, and as me thought drewe on faste to his ende, untill it was foure of the clocke of the morning: at which time I spake to him, and asked him how he did. "Well," quoth he, "if I had any meate; I pray you give me some." "Sir there is none redy," saide I, "I wis," quoth he, "ye be the more to blame: for you should have alwaies meate for me in a readiness, to eate when my stomache serveth me;

me; therefore I pray you get me some; for I intend this day to make me strong, to the intent that I may occupy myselfe in confession, and make me ready to God." "Then sir," quoth I, "I will call up the cookes to provide some meate for you; and will also, if it be your pleasure, call for Mr. Palmes, that ye may common with him, untill your meate be ready." "With a good will," quoth he. And therewith I went fast, and called up the cookes bidding them to prepare some meate for my lord. Then went I to Mr. Palmes, and tould him what case my lord was in; willing him to rise, and resorte to him with spede. And then I went to Mr. Kingstone, and gave him warning, that, as I thought, my lord would not live; advising him that if he had any thing to say to him, he should make haste, for he was in great daunger. "In good faith," quoth Mr. Kingstone, "ye be to blame: for ye make him believe that he is sicker, and in more daunger, than he is indeed." "Well sir," quoth I, "ye shall not say another day but I have given you warning, as I am bound to doe, and discharge myself therein. Therefore I pray you, whatsoever shall chaunce, let no negligence be ascribed to me herein; for I assure you his life is very shorte. Do therefore as ye thinke beste." Yet nevertheless he rose, and made him ready, and came to him. After he had eaten of a cullace made of chicken a spoonful or two, at the laste quoth he, "Whereof was this cullace made?" "Forsothe sir," quoth I, "of a chicken." "Why," quoth he, "it is fasting day," (being St. Andrews even). "What though it be," quoth Doctor Palmes, "ye be excused by reason of your sickness?" "Yea," quoth he, "what though? I will eate no more."

Then was he in confession the space of an houre. And when he had ended his confession, Master Kingstone

Kingstone came to him, and bad him good morrowe; for it was about six of the clocke, and asked him how he did. "Sir," quoth he, "I tarry but the pleasure of God, to render up my poore soule into his handes." "Not so sir," quoth Master Kingstone, "with the grace of God, ye shall live, and do very well; if ye will be of good cheere." "Nay in good soothe, Master Kingstone, "my disease is suche that I cannot live; for I have had some experience in phisicke. Thus it is: I have a fluxe with a continuall feaver; the nature whereof is, that if there be no alteration of the same within eight daies, either must ensue excorrition of the entrailes, or frensy, or else present deathe; and the best of these three, is deathe. And as I suppose, this is the eight day: and if ye see no alteration in me, there is no remedy, save that I may live a day or two after, but deathe, which is the beste of these three, must followe." "Sir," saide Master Kingstone, "you be in such pensiveness, doubting that thing that in good faithe ye need not." "Well, well, Master Kingstone," quoth my lord, "I see the matter maketh you much worse than you should be against me; howe it is framed I knowe not. But if I had served God, as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey heares. But this is the just rewarde that I must receive, for my diligent paines and study, that I have had, to do him service; not regarding my service to God, but only to satisfye his pleasure. I pray you have me most humbly commended unto his royall majestie; and beseeche him in my behalfe, to call to his princely remembrance all matters proceeding betweene him and me from the beginning of the world, and the progresse of the same: and most especially in his waighty matter;" (meaning the matter betweene

good

good Queen Katherine and him,) " and then shall his graces couscience knowe, whether I have offended him, or no. He is a prince of royall courage, and hath a princely harte; and rather then he will miss or want any parte of his will or pleasure, he will endanger the losse of the one halfe of his realme. For I assure you, I have often kneeled before him, the space sometimes of three houres, to persuade him from his will and appetite: but I could never disssuade him therefrom. Therefore Mr. Kingstone, I warne you, if it chaunce you hereafter to be of his privy counsell, as for your wisdome, ye are very mete, be well assured and advised, what ye put in his head, for ye shall never put it out againe.

" And say furthermore, that I request his grace, on Gods name, that he have a vigilant eye to depresse this newe sorte of Lutherans [9], that it doe not encrease, through his negligence, in suche a sorte, as he be at length compelled to put on harnies upon his backe to subdue them; as the king of Boheme did, who had good game, to see his commons, infected with Wickliffes heresies, to spoile the spirituall men of his realme: who at the last were constrained to call to the king and his nobles for succour against their frantic rage; of whom they could get no helpe ne refuge, but they laughed and had good game not regarding their duty. But when these erronious heretics had subdued all the

[9] *Newe sorte of Lutherans.*] In the yeare 1521, the cardinal, by virtue of his legatine authority, issued a mandate to all the bishops in the realme, to take the necessary means for calling in and destroying all books, printed or written, containing any of the errors of Martin Luther: and further directing processes to be instituted against all the possessors and favourers of such books, heresies, &c. The mandate contained also a list of forty-two errors of Luther. See Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 690—693; and Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, vol. i. p. 36—40.

clergy

clergy, bothe churches, and monasteries, and all other spirituall things, then having nothing more to spoile, they caught such a courage of their former spoile, that then they disdained their prince with his nobles, and the heades and governours of the country, and began to spoile and slay them. Insomuch as the king and other noblemen were constrained to put harneis upon them, to resist the power of those traiterous heretickes, and to defend their lives; who pitched a field against them; in which field the conflict was so vehement and cruell on the rebells parte, that in fine they slewe the kinge, the nobles, and all the gentlemen of the realme, leaving not one person that bare the name of a noble man or gentleman, or any person that bare rule in the common wealthe alive; by meanes of which slaughter they have lived ever since without an heade; being brought into such poverty and misery that they be abhorred of all Christian nations. Let this be to him an example to avoide the like daunger, I pray you. There is no trust to routes or to unlawfull assemblies in the common people; for when they be up, there is no mercy with them. Let him consider the story of king Richard the second, one of his progenitors, who lived in that same time also of Wickliffe's seditions and erronious opinions. Did not the commons, I pray you, in his time arise against the nobles and head governors of this realme of Englande; whereof some they apprehended, whom without mercy or misery they put to deathe? and did they not fall to spoiling and robbery, which was their onlie pretence to have all things in common; and at the last, tooke the kings person perforce out of the tower of London, and carried him about the city presumptuously, making him obedient to their lewd proclamations?

Did

Did not also the traiterous hereticke, Sir John Oldcastle, lord of Cobham, pitche a field with hereticks against king Henry the fifth, where the king himselfe was personally, and fought against them, to whom God gave the victory? Alas! if these be not plaine presidents, and sufficient persuasions to admonish a prince to be circumspect against the semblable mischiefe; then will God strike, and take from us our prudent rulers, and leave us in the hands of our enemies; and then shall ensue mischiefe upon mischiefe, inconvenience upon inconvenience, and barrenness and scarcity for lacke of good order in the common weale, to the utter ruine and desolation of this realme, from the which God of his tendre mercy defend us.

"Master Kingstone farewell. I can no more saye, but I wish ere I dye, all things to have good successe. My time draweth on faste. I may not tarry with you. And forget not what I have saide and charged you withall: for when I am dead, ye shall peradventure remembre my words better." And even with those wordes he began to draw his speche at lengthe, and his tongue to faile; his eyes being presently set in his head, whose sight failed him. Then began we to put him in remembrance of Christ's passion; and caused the yeomen of the guarde to stand bye secretly, to see him dye, and to be witnesses of his wordes at his departure; who heard all his saide communication: and incontinent the clock struck eight, and then gave he up the ghost, and thus he departed this present life[1]. And calling to remembrance, howe he saide the day before, that at eight of the clocke we should lose our master, as it is before rehearsed,

[1] *He departed this present life.*] He died Nov. 29, 1530. Le Neve's *Fasti*, p. 310.

one of us looking upon an other, supposing that either he knewe or prophesied of his departure, yet before his departure, we sent for the abbot of the house, to annoyle him[2], whoe made all the spede he could, and came to his departure, and so sayd certaine praiers, before the breath was fully out of his body.

Here is the ende and fall of pride and arrogancy of men, exalted by fortune to dignities: for I assure you, in his time, he was the haughtiest man in all his proceedings alive; having more respect to the honor of his person, than he had to his spirituall profession; wherein should be shewed all meekness, humility, and charity; the discussing whereof any further I leave to divines.

After that he was thus departed, Mr. Kingstone sent a post to the king, advertising him of the departure of the cardinall by one of the guarde, that sawe and hearde him die. And then Mr. Kingstone and the abbot calling me unto them went to consultation of the order of his buriall.

After diverse opinions, it was thought good that he should be buried the next day following; for Mr. Kingstone would not tarry the returne of the poste. And it was further thought good that the mayor of Leicester, and his brethren should be sent for, to see him personally dead, to avoide false rumours that might happen, to say that he was still alive. Then was the mayor and his brethren sent for; and in the meane time, the body was taken out of the bed where he lay deade;

[2] *To annoyle him.*] To administer the *extreme unction.* "The *fyfth sacrament* is anoyntynge of seke men, the whiche oyle is halowed of the bysshop, and mynystred by preestes to them that ben of lawfull age, in grete peryll of dethe: in lyghtnes and abatynge of theyr sikenes, yf God wyll that they lyve; and in forgyvynge of thy ervenyal synnes, and releasynge of theyr payne, yf they shal deye." *Festival*, fol. 171.

who

who had upon him, next his body, a shirte of heare, besides his other shirte, which was of very fine holland; which was not known to any of his servaunts being continually about him in his chambre, saving to his Ghostly Father; which shirtes were laide in a coffin made for him of bordes, having upon his dead corpse all such ornaments as he was professed in, when he was made bishop and archbishop, as miter, crosse, ring, and palle, with all other things due to his order and dignity. And lying thus all day in his coffin open and barefaced, every man that would might see him there deade, without fayning, even as the mayor, his brethren, and other did.

Lying thus untill foure or five of the clocke at nighte, he was carried downe into the churche with great solemnity by the abbot, and conducted with much torche lighte, and service songe, due for such funeralls. And being in the churche the corps was set in our Lady chappell, with diverse tapers of waxe, and diverse poore men sitting about the same, holding torches in their handes, who watched about the corps all night, while the canons sang dirige, and other devout oraisons. And about foure of the clocke in the morning Mr. Kingstone and we his servants came into the churche and there tarried the executing of diverse ceremonies in such cases used, about the corpse of a bishop. Then went they to masse, at which masse the abbot and diverse other did offer. And that done, they went about to bury the corps in the middest of the sayd chappell, where was made for him a grave. And by that time that he was buried, and all ceremonies ended, it was six of the clocke in the morning.

Then went we and prepared ourselves to horseback, being Saint Andrews day the Apostle, and

so toke our journey to the courte; riding that same day, being Wednesday, to Northampton; and the next day to Dunstable; and the next day to London; where we tarried untill Saint Nicholas Even, and then we rode to Hampton Courte, where the king and counsel lay, giving all our attendance upon them for our dispatche.

And the next day, being Saint Nicholas day, I was sent for, being in Mr. Kingstone's chamber there in the courte, to come to the king; whom I found shooting at the roundes in the Parcke, on the backside of the garden. And perceiving him occupied in shoting, thought it not good to trouble him: but leaning to a tree, attending there untill he had made an ende of his disporte. And leaning there, being in a great study, what the matter should be that his grace should send for me, at the laste the king came sodenly behind me, and clapped me upon the shoulder; and when I perceived him, I fell upon my knee. And he, calling me by name, sayd unto me, "I will," quoth he, "make an ende of my game, and then will I talk with you:" and so departed to the marke where he had shot his arrowe. And when he came there they were meting of the shott that lay upon the game, which was ended that shote.

Then delivered the king his bowe unto the yeoman of his bowes, and went his waies inwarde; whom I followed; howbeit he called for Sir John Gage, then his vice chamberlaine, with whome he talked, untill he came to the posterne gate of his garden; the which being open against his comyng, he entered; and then was the gate shute after him, which caused me to goe my waies.

And ere ever I was past halfe a paire of buttlengths, the gate opened againe, and Mr. Norris called me againe, commanding me to come unto the

the kinge, who stoode behinde the doore in a night gowne of russet velvet, furred with sables; before whome I kneled downe, being there with him all alone the space of an houre or more, during which season he examined me of diverse weighty matters, concerning my lord cardinall, wishing rather than twenty thousand pounds that he had lived. He examined me of the fifteen hundred poundes, which Mr. Kingstone moved to my lord before his deathe, as I have before rehersed. "Sir," sayd I, "I thinke that I can tell your grace partly where it is, and who hathe it." "Yea, can you?" quoth the king; "then I pray you tell me, and you shall doe me much pleasure, and it shall not be unrewarded." "Sir," sayd "I, if it please your highness, after the departure of David Vincent from my lord at Scroby, who had the custody thereof, leaving the same with my lord in diverse baggs, he delivered the saine unto a certaine priest safely to kepe to his use." "Is this true?" quoth the king. "Yea, sir," quoth I, "without all doubt. The priest shall not be able to deny it in my presence, for I was at the delivery thereof; who hath gotten diverse other rich ornaments into his hands, the which be not rehersed or registered in any of my lords books of inventory, or other writings, whereby any man is able to charge him therewith, but only I." "Well then," quoth the king, "let me alone, and kepe this geare secrete betweene yourselfe and me, and let no man knowe thereof; for if I heare any more of it, then I knowe by whom it came out. Howbeit," quoth he, "three may kepe counsell, if two be awaye; and if I knewe that my cap were privy of my counsell, I would cast it in the fire and burne it. And for your truthe and honesty ye shall be our servant, and be in the saine rome with us, wherein you were with your

your old master. Therefore goe your waies unto Sir John Gage our vice chamberlain, to whom I have spoken already to give you your oathe, and to admit you our servaunt in the sayd roome; and then goe to my lord of Norfolke, and he shall pay you your whole yeares wages, which, is ten poundes, is it not so?" quoth the king, "Yea, forsoothe," quoth I, "and I am behinde for three quarters of a yeare of the same wages." "That is true," quoth the king, "therefore ye shall have your whole yeares wages, with our rewarde delivered you by the duke of Norfolke;" promising me furthermore, to be my singular good lord, whensoever occasion should serve. And thus I departed from the kinge.

And as I went to Mr. Gage to receive mine othe, I happened to meete with Mr. Kingstone comming from the counsell, who commaunded me in their name to goe straighte unto them, for by him they had sent for me, "And in any wise take good hede," quoth he, "what ye say; for ye shall be examined of certaine wordes spoken by my lord your master at his departure, the which I knowe well enoughe; and if I tell them the truthe," quoth "he, "what he said, I shall undoe myselfe; for in any wise they may not heare of it: therefore be circumspect what aunswer ye make to their demaundes." "Why," quoth I, "how have you done therein yourselfe?" "Mary," quoth I, "I have utterly denied that I heard any such wordes; and he that opened the same first is fled for feare;" which was the yeoman of the guarde that rode in post to the king from Leycester. "Therefore goe your waies," quoth he, "God send you good spede; and when you have done, come to me into the chamber of presence, where I will tarry to see howe

howe you speede, and to knowe how ye have done with the king."

Thus I departed and went directly to the counsell chamber doore; and as sone as I was come I was called in amongst them. And being there, my lord of Norfolke first spake, and bad me welcome to the courte, and saide, "My lordes, this gentleman hath served the cardinall his master like an honest man; therefore I doubt not but of such questions as ye shall demaund of him, he will make a just and a true aunswer, I dare be his surety." Howe say you sir?" quoth he to me, "it is reported, that your master spake such wordes and such, even at his departure from his life; the truthe whereof I doubt not but you knowe; and as you knowe, I pray you reporte; and feare for no man. It shall not neede to sweare you, therefore go to, how say you, is this true that is reported?" "Forsoothe my lord," quoth I, "I was so dilligent about him, attending the preservation of his life, that I marked not every worde that he spake: and as for my parte, I have heard him talke many idle wordes, as men do in such extremities, the which I do not nowe remember. If it please you to call Mr. Kingstone before your lordshippes, he will not let to tell you the truthe." "Mary so have we done already," quoth they, "who hath bin here before us, and hath denied that ever your master spake any such wordes, at the time of his deathe, or at any time before." "Forsoothe my lordes," quoth I, "then I can say no more; for if he heard them not, I could not heare them; for he heard as much as I, and I as much he. Therefore my lordes, it were folly to say a thing of untruthe, which I am not able to justify." "Loe!" quoth my lord of Norfolke, "I tould you before, that he was a true man, and would tell the truthe.

Goe

Goe your waies: ye be discharged," quoth he, "and come to my chambre sone, for I must talke with you."

I most humbly thanked them, and so departed; and went into the chamber of presence to mete with Mr. Kingstone, whom I found standing in communication with an auncient gentleman, one Mr. Radcliffe, gentleman usher of the kings privy chamber. And at my comming, Mr. Kingstone demaunded of me, if I had bin with the counsell; and what aunswer I made them. I aunswered, that I had satisfied their lordshippes mindes with mine aunswers; and tould him even as I have rehersed before. And then he asked me, how I sped with the king; and I tould him all our communications; and of his graces benevolence and princely liberallity towards mé; and howe he commaunded me to goe to my lord of Norfolke. And even as we were speaking of my lord of Norfolke, he came out from the counseell chamber, into the chamber of presence; and as sone as he espied me, he came unto the windowe, where I stoode with Mr. Kingstone and Mr. Radcliffe; to whome I declared the kings pleasure. And then these two gentlemen made intercession unto him to be good lord unto me. "Nay," quoth my lord of Norfolke, "I will be better to him than he weneth; for if I could have spoken to him, or ever he came to the king, I would have had him to my service; and (the king excepted) he should have done no man service in all Englande but me. And loke," quoth he, "what I may doe for you, I will doe it with all my harte." "Sir then my desire is, that it would please your grace," quoth I, "to move the kinge to be so much my good lord as to give me one of the cartes and horses that brought up my stuffe with my lordes, (which

is

is nowe in the Towre) to carry it home into my country." "Yea mary will I," quoth he, and retourned into the kinge; for whom I tarried still with Mr. Kingstone. "And," quoth Mr. Ratcliffe, "I will goe in, and helpe my lord of Norfolke in your suite to the king." And incontinent my lord came forthe, and tould me, that the king was my singular good and gracious lord; and had given me six of the beste horses I could chose among all my lordes carte horses, and a carte to carry my stuffe, and five markes for the costes homewardes; and hath commanded me," quoth he, "to deliver you ten poundes for your wages, being behinde; and twenty poundes for a rewarde;" and commaunded me to call Mr. Secretary unto him, to make a warrant for all these things. Then was it tould him, that Mr. Secretary was gone to Hamworthe for that nighte. Then commaunded he one of the messengers of the chambre to ride to him in all haste for those warrants; and also willed me to mete with him the next day at London; and there I should receive both my money and my stuffe, with the horses and carte, that the king promised me: and so I did; of whom I received all those things, and then I retourned home into the country with the same. And thus ended the life of the right triumphant cardinall of England, on whose soule Jesus have mercy! Amen.

Who liste to reade and consider with a cleare eye this history, may behold the mutability of vaine honors, and brittle assurance of aboundaunce; the uncertainety of dignities, the flattering of feigned friends, and the fickle favor of worldly princes. Whereof this lord cardinall hath felt and tasted bothe of the sweete and soure in each degree; as fleeting from honnors, losing of riches, deposed from dignities, forsaken of friends, and the muta-

bility of princes favour; of all which things, he had in this world the full felicity, as long as fortune smiled upon him: but when she began to frowne, how sone was he deprived of all these mundane joyes, and vaine pleasures. That which in twenty yeares with great travaile and study he obtained, was in one yeare and lesse, with great care and sorrowe lost and consumed. O, madness! O, fond desire! O, foolish hope! O! greedy desire of vaine honnors, dignities, and riches! Oh what unconstant hope and trust is it in the false fayned countenaunce and promise of fortune! Wherefore the prophet saith full well, *Thesaurizat, et ignorat, cui congregabit ea.* Who is certaine that he shall leave his riches which he hath gathered in this world, unto them whom he hath purposed? The wise man saith, *That an other, whom peradventure he hated in his life, shall spende it out, and consume it.*

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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